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T: Report of Proceedings  
of the Commonwealth  
Parliamentary Conference

ಗ್ರಂಥಾಲಯ

Acc. No. 034058

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ವಿದ್ಯಾರಣ್ಯ

1959

NOVEMBER, 1959

BETWEEN DELEGATES FROM THE  
BRANCHES OF THE COMMONWEALTH  
PARLIAMENTARY ASSOCIATION IN  
THE LEGISLATURES OF THE  
COMMONWEALTH; AND ALSO BE-  
TWEEN THOSE DELEGATES AND  
REPRESENTATIVES OF THE  
ASSOCIATED GROUP IN THE  
CONGRESS OF THE U.S.A.

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Issued under the authority of the  
COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENTARY ASSOCIATION  
(GENERAL COUNCIL)  
HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, LONDON, S.W.1

AKSHARA GRANTHALAYA



ACCN NO: 034058





# ಗ್ರಂಥಾಲಯ

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ವಿದ್ಯಾರಣ್ಯ

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NDON, S.W.1.

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Lok Sabha,

it of the Senate,

## *Vice-Chairman:*

MR. J. W. HIGGERTY, M.P. (Chief Opposition Whip, *Union of South Africa*)

succeeded by

SIR ROLAND ROBINSON, M.P. (*United Kingdom*).

## *Members:*

### UNITED KINGDOM

Rt. Hon. A. ROBENS, M.P.

### CANADA

*Federal:* Hon. R. MICHENER, Q.C., M.P. (Speaker of the House of Commons).

*Provinces:* Hon. A. W. DOWNER, M.L.A. (Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, Ontario).

### AUSTRALIA

*Commonwealth:* (Vacant).

*States:* Mr. H. RICHTER, M.L.A. (*Queensland*).

### NEW ZEALAND

Hon. P. O. S. SKOGLUND, M.P. (Minister of Education).

Hon. S. W. SMITH, M.P.

### UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

Senator the Hon. P. S. HAYWARD (Chief Government Whip).

Mr. T. G. HUGHES, M.P.

### INDIA

*Union:* Shri S. V. KRISHNAMOORTHY RAO, M.P. (Deputy Chairman of the Rajya Sabha).

*States:* Sri NAWAL KISHORE, M.L.A. (*Uttar Pradesh*).

### CEYLON

Hon. S. DE ZOYSA, M.P. (*then* Minister of Finance).

Senator the Hon. A. P. JAYASURIYA (*then* Minister of Health).\*

### GHANA

Hon. A. CASELY-HAYFORD, M.P.

\* As Senator the Hon. A. P. Jayasuriya was unable to attend the Conference, Mr. R. E. Jayatilaka was appointed as his deputy.



ಶ್ರೀಮಾನ್ಯ  
ಹೆಚ್.ಬಿ.ಎಂ.ಎಸ್. ಲಯ್ಡ್, ಕೆ.ಎಂ.ಸಿ.  
ಬಿ.ಎಂ.ಸಿ.

#### FEDERATION OF MALAYA

Hon. DATO' ONG YOKE LIN, M.P., P.M.N. (Minister of Labour and Social Welfare).

#### FEDERATION OF RHODESIA AND NYASALAND

*Federal:* Mr. I. D. SMITH, M.P. (Chief Government Whip).

*Territorial:* Mr. M. E. CURRIE, E.D., M.P. (Government Whip, *Southern Rhodesia*).

#### FEDERATION OF NIGERIA

*Federal:* Hon. R. A. NJOKU, M.H.R. (Minister of Transport)†

*Territorial:* Hon. D. ATOLAGBE, M.H.A. (*Western Nigeria*).

#### FEDERATION OF THE WEST INDIES

*Federal:* Hon. Sir GRANTLEY ADAMS, C.M.G., Q.C., M.P. (Prime Minister).‡

*Territorial:* Hon. K. H. W. HUSBANDS, M.H.A. (Speaker of the House of Assembly, *Barbados*).

#### SINGAPORE

Dr. SHENG NAM CHIN, M.L.A. (Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Health).

#### BERMUDA, BAHAMAS, BRITISH GUIANA

Hon. Sir JOHN COX, C.B.E., M.H.A. (Speaker of the House of Assembly, *Bermuda*).

#### KENYA, NORTHERN IRELAND, SIERRA LEONE

Mr. T. S. JOHNSON, B.E.M., M.H.R. (*Sierra Leone*).

#### MAURITIUS, UGANDA, JERSEY, ISLE OF MAN (alternately)

Mr. R. BALGOBIN, M.L.C. (*Mauritius*).

*Secretary-General and Editor of Publications:*

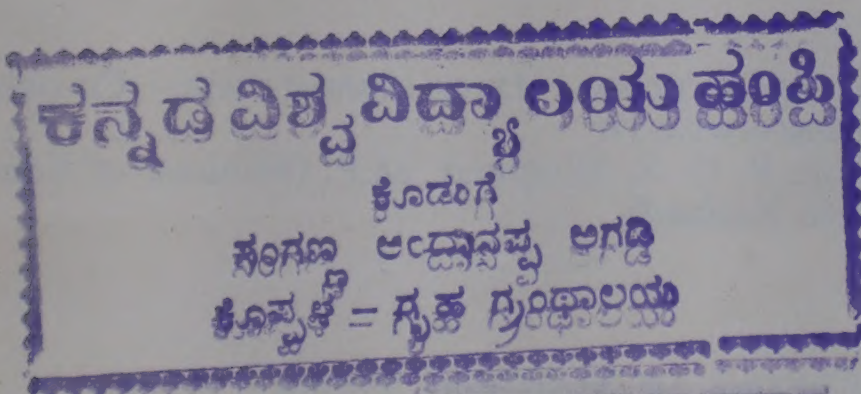
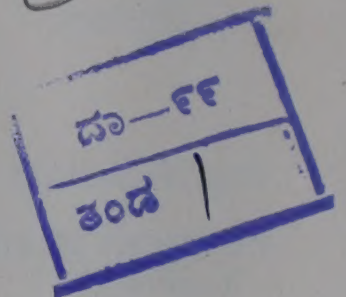
Sir HOWARD D'EGVILLE, K.B.E., LL.D.

*Assistant Secretary-General and Assistant Editor:*

Mr. S. A. PAKEMAN, C.B.E., M.C., E.D.

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ದಿನಾಂಕ 16.06.1998

† As Mr. Njoku was unable to attend the Meetings of the Council in Canberra, Mr. D. N. Abii, M.H.R. (Government Whip) was appointed as his deputy.

‡ As the Hon. Sir Grantley Adams was unable to attend the Meetings of the Council owing to illness, Mr. A. S. Sinanan, Leader of the Opposition, was appointed as his deputy.



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## ILLUSTRATIONS

*Frontispiece:* The then Chairman of the General Council, the Hon. Shri M. A. Ayyangar, M.P., Speaker of the Lok Sabha, India, addressing Delegates at the official opening of the Sixth Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference in Canberra on Monday, 2nd November, 1959.

*Facing page 128:* Delegates to the Sixth Parliamentary Conference assembled on the steps of Parliament House, Canberra.



## PRELIMINARY NOTE

THE Sixth Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference was held at Canberra, Australia, from 2nd to 7th November, 1959, in the Chamber of the House of Representatives, by kind permission of the Speaker. It was attended by 105 Delegates from 49 of the Branches of the Association, and by a Delegation from the Senate of the United States of America, representing the Associated Group in the U.S. Congress, the members of which attended and took part in the discussion on "International Affairs and Defence".

The Conference was opened with due ceremony on Monday, 2nd November, by His Excellency Field-Marshal Sir William Slim, K.G., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., D.S.O., M.C., K.St.J., Governor-General of the Commonwealth of Australia. The details of the Opening Ceremony will be found on pages 1 to 10.

Eight Sessions were held and, in accordance with a decision taken by the Conference, took place *in camera* as at previous Conferences. A verbatim report of the discussions, after revision by the various speakers, will be found in this Report.

The Fifth General Meeting of the Association took place, also in the Chamber of the House of Representatives, on the morning of 4th November. A verbatim report has been printed and issued to all Members of the Association.

The Report of the General Council for 1957-58 and the Accounts and Balance Sheet for the year ended 31st December, 1957, have been printed and sent to all Branches of the Association. The Report for 1958-59 and the Accounts and Balance Sheet for the year ended 31st December, 1958, are in the press and will be distributed shortly. The above Reports and Accounts were adopted by the General Meeting.

During the period of the Conference the General Council held four meetings and the Finance and General Purposes Committee two.

The following are the names of the Officers of the General Council, and of the Delegates appointed by the Branches of the Association to attend the Conference, the General Meeting and the Council Meetings:

### CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL

\*Hon. Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, M.P. (*Speaker of the Lok Sabha, India, and Leader of the Indian Delegation*),

succeeded by

\*Senator the Hon. Sir Alister McMullin, K.C.M.G. (*President of the Senate, Commonwealth of Australia*).

### VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL

Mr. J. W. Higgerty, M.P. (*Chief Opposition Whip, Union of South Africa*)

succeeded by

\*Sir Roland Robinson, M.P. (*United Kingdom*).

UNITED  
KINGDOM

Rt. Hon. Lord Mills, K.B.E. (*Paymaster-General and Leader of the Delegation*).

Rt. Hon. Earl Attlee, K.G., O.M., C.H. (*Deputy Leader of the Delegation*).

Lord Amherst of Hackney.

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\* Member of the Council, C.P.A.



COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE

\*Rt. Hon. A. Robens, M.P.  
Col. D. Glover, T.D., M.P.  
Rt. Hon. W. Glenvil Hall, M.P.  
Mr. J. M. Howard, M.P.  
Mr. C. Kenyon, M.P.  
Mr. A. Roberts, M.P.

NORTHERN IRELAND Senator His Grace the Duke of Abercorn.

JERSEY Senator C. P. Rumfitt.

CANADA  
Federal \*Hon. R. Michener, Q.C., M.P. (*Speaker of the House of Commons and Leader of the Delegation*).  
Mr. L. D. Crestohl, Q.C., M.P.  
Mr. J. H. T. Ricard, M.P.  
Senator the Hon. D. Smith.  
Senator the Hon. G. S. White, M.M., Q.C.  
Mr. H. O. White, M.P.  
Mr. H. E. Winch, M.P.

Provincial \*Ontario: Hon. A. W. Downer, M.L.A. (*Speaker of the Legislative Assembly*).  
New Brunswick: Mr. F. A. McCain, M.L.A.  
Manitoba: Hon. D. Roblin, M.L.A. (*Premier and Provincial Treasurer*).  
British Columbia: Hon. L. H. Shantz, M.L.A. (*Speaker of the Legislative Assembly*).  
Alberta: Hon. R. D. Jorgenson, M.L.A. (*Minister of Public Welfare*).  
Newfoundland: Hon. J. R. Courage, M.H.A. (*Speaker of the House of Assembly*).

AUSTRALIA  
Commonwealth Rt. Hon. H. E. Holt, M.P. (*Treasurer, Leader of the House of Representatives and Leader of the Delegation*).  
Rt. Hon. Dr. H. V. Evatt, Q.C., M.P. (*Leader of the Opposition and Deputy Leader of the Delegation*).  
Senator the Hon. W. H. Spooner, M.M. (*Minister for National Development and Leader of the Senate*).  
Hon. C. F. Adermann, M.P. (*Minister for Primary Industry*).  
Senator the Hon. N. E. McKenna (*Leader of the Opposition in the Senate*).  
Hon. A. A. Calwell, M.P. (*Deputy Leader of the Opposition*).  
Senator the Hon. P. J. Kennelly (*Deputy Leader of the Opposition in the Senate*).  
Senator the Hon. A. D. Reid, M.C. (*Chairman of Committees*).  
Mr. W. A. Duthie, M.P. (*Opposition Whip*).  
Mr. P. Galvin, M.P.  
Mr. H. G. Pearce, M.P. (*Deputy Government Whip*).

States New South Wales: Hon. D. Cochrane, M.L.C.  
Lt.-Col. the Hon. T. Steele, M.L.C. (*Opposition Whip*).  
Victoria: Mr. B. D. Snider, M.P. (*Leader of the Delegation*).  
Hon. A. K. Bradbury, M.L.C.

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\* Member of the Council, C.P.A.



# PRELIMINARY NOTE

- \* *Queensland*: Mr. H. Richter, M.L.A.  
Mr. L. F. Diplock, M.L.A.
- South Australia*: Hon. Sir Arthur Rymill, M.L.C.  
Mr. J. S. Clark, M.P.
- Western Australia*: Mr. D. Norton, M.L.A. (*Leader of the Delegation*).  
Mr. J. J. Rhatigan, M.L.A.
- Tasmania*: Mr. K. O. Lyons, M.H.A. (*Leader of the Delegation*).  
Hon. B. K. Miller, M.L.C. (*Deputy Leader for the Government in the Legislative Council*).

## NEW ZEALAND

- \*Hon. P. O. S. Skoglund, M.P. (*Minister of Education and Leader of the Delegation*).
- Hon. J. R. Hanan, M.P.
- Mr. E. J. Keating, M.P.
- Mr. T. P. Paieka, M.P.
- \*Hon. S. W. Smith, M.P.

## UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

- \*Senator the Hon. P. S. Hayward (*Chief Government Whip and Leader of the Delegation*).
- Mr. J. W. J. C. du Plessis, M.P.
- Mr. G. F. van L. Froneman, M.P.
- \*Mr. T. G. Hughes, M.P.
- Dr. L. S. Steenkamp, M.P.
- Mr. J. H. Visse, M.P.

## INDIA Union

- Sardar Hukam Singh, M.P. (*Deputy Speaker of the Lok Sabha*).
- \*Shri S. V. Krishnamoorthy Rao, M.P. (*Deputy Chairman of the Rajya Sabha*).
- Shri H. N. Mukerjee, M.P.
- Dr. G. S. Melkote, M.P.
- Shrimati T. Nallamuthu Ramamurti, M.P.
- Shri Raghunath Singh, M.P.

## States

- West Bengal*: Dr. S. K. Chatterji, M.L.C. (*Chairman of the Legislative Council*).
- Bombay*: Hon. Shri S. L. Silam, M.L.A. (*Speaker of the Legislative Assembly*).
- Madras*: Sri V. K. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, M.L.A. (*Leader of the Opposition*).
- \**Uttar Pradesh*: Sri Nawal Kishore, M.L.A.
- Mysore*: Shri V. Venkatappa, M.L.C. (*Chairman of the Legislative Council*).
- Punjab*: Hon. G. S. Dhillon, M.L.A. (*Speaker of the Legislative Assembly*).
- Rajasthan*: Sri Niranjannath Acharya, M.L.A. (*Deputy Speaker of the Legislative Assembly*).

## CEYLON

- \*Hon. S. de Zoysa, M.P. (*then Minister of Finance; Leader of the Delegation*).
- \*Mr. R. E. Jayatilaka, M.P.
- Senator Thomas Amarasuriya, O.B.E.
- †Lieut.-Col. C. A. Dharmapala, O.B.E., M.P.
- †Mr. E. L. B. Hurulle, M.P.

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\* Member of the Council, C.P.A.

† Did not attend Conference.



COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENTARY CONFERENCE

GHANA	*Hon. A. Casely-Hayford, M.P. ( <i>Leader of the Delegation</i> ). Mr. A. Mate Johnson, M.P. Mr. J. Kaleo, M.P.
FEDERATION OF MALAYA	*Hon. Dato' Ong Yoke Lin, M.P., P.M.N. ( <i>Minister of Labour and Social Welfare and Leader of the Delegation</i> ). Hon. Enche Tajudin bin Ali, M.P.
FEDERATION OF RHODESIA AND NYASALAND	
Federal	*Mr. I. D. Smith, M.P. ( <i>Chief Government Whip and Leader of the Delegation</i> ). Capt. F. B. Robertson, M.C., M.P.
Territorial	* <i>Southern Rhodesia</i> : Mr. M. E. Currie, E.D., M.P. ( <i>Government Whip</i> ). <i>Northern Rhodesia</i> : Mr. J. J. Steyn, M.L.C. ( <i>United Federal Party Whip</i> ).
FEDERATION OF NIGERIA	
Federal	*Mr. D. N. Abii, M.H.R. ( <i>Government Whip</i> ).
Regional	* <i>Western Nigeria</i> : Hon. D. Atolagbe, M.H.A.
FEDERATION OF THE WEST INDIES	
Federal	*†Hon. Sir Grantley Adams, C.M.G., Q.C., M.P. ( <i>Prime Minister and Leader of the Delegation</i> ). Mr. A. S. Sinanan, M.P. ( <i>Leader of the Opposition</i> ).
Territorial	<i>Jamaica</i> : Hon. B. B. Coke, M.H.R. ( <i>Speaker of the House of Representatives</i> ). * <i>Barbados</i> : Hon. K. H. W. Husbands, M.H.A. ( <i>Speaker of the House of Assembly</i> ). <i>Trinidad and Tobago</i> : Hon. L. N. Constantine, M.B.E., M.L.C. ( <i>Minister of Works and Transport</i> ). <i>St. Lucia</i> : Hon. C. A. M. Compton, M.L.C.
SINGAPORE	*Dr. Sheng Nam Chin, M.L.A. ( <i>Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Health</i> ).
BERMUDA	*Hon. Sir John Cox, C.B.E., M.H.A. ( <i>Speaker of the House of Assembly</i> ).
BAHAMAS	Hon. E. A. P. Dupuch, C.B.E., M.H.A.
KENYA	Hon. N. F. Harris, M.L.C. ( <i>Minister without portfolio</i> ).
MAURITIUS	*Mr. R. Balgobin, M.L.C.
BRITISH GUIANA	Mr. F. Bowman, M.L.C.
BRITISH HONDURAS	†Mr. G. C. Price, M.L.A. ( <i>Deputy Speaker of the Legislative Assembly and Leader of Majority Party</i> ).
SIERRA LEONE	*Mr. T. S. Johnson, B.E.M., M.H.R.
UGANDA	Hon. J. K. Babiiha, M.L.C.
ADEN	Hon. H. A. Bayoomi, B.E.M., M.L.C. ( <i>Member in charge of Labour and Welfare, and Antiquities Departments</i> ).

\* Member of the Council, C.P.A.

† Did not attend Conference.



PRELIMINARY NOTE

*From Associated Groups:*

UNITED STATES  
OF AMERICA

Senator J. Allen Frear (*Leader of the Delegation*).

Senator Clair Engle.

Senator Kenneth B. Keating.

Senator Hugh Scott.

*Accompanied by:*

Dr. George B. Galloway (*Senior Specialist, Legislative Reference  
Service, Library of Congress*) as Secretary of the Delegation.



## SECRETARIAT OF THE CONFERENCE

The following formed the Secretariat of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference and of the General Meeting:

- Sir Howard d'Egville, K.B.E., Secretary-General of the Association and Secretary to the Conference.
- Mr. S. A. Pakeman, C.B.E., M.C., E.D., Assistant Secretary-General and Deputy Secretary to the Conference.
- Mr. L. M. Fowler, Chief Executive Clerk, General Council.
- Miss B. M. F. May, Private Secretary to Secretary-General.
- Mr. H. Duncan Hall, Special Assistant to the Secretary-General.
- Mr. J. G. Lockhart, C.B.E., Secretary of the United Kingdom Branch and Secretary to the United Kingdom Delegation.
- Mr. T. R. Montgomery, Clerk Assistant of the House of Commons and Secretary of the Canadian Branch; Secretary to the Canadian Delegation.
- Mr. A. G. Turner, Clerk of the House of Representatives and Secretary of the Commonwealth of Australia Branch; Secretary to the Australian Commonwealth Delegation.
- Mr. Cyril George, Second Clerk Assistant, Legislative Assembly, Queensland; Secretary to the Delegations from the Australian States Branches.
- Mr. W. T. Wood, Clerk of the Senate and Secretary of the Union of South Africa Branch; Secretary to the Union of South Africa Delegation.
- Shri S. H. Belavadi, Secretary of the Bombay State Legislation and of the Bombay Branch; Secretary to the Indian Delegation.
- Mr. R. L. St. P. Deraniyagala, C.B.E., Clerk of the House of Representatives and Secretary of the Ceylon Branch; Secretary to the Ceylon Delegation.
- Mr. L. P. Tosu, Deputy Clerk of the National Assembly and Assistant Secretary of the Ghana Branch; Secretary to the Ghana Delegation.
- Mr. C. A. Fredericks, Clerk to the House of Representatives and Secretary of the Federation of Malaya Branch; Secretary to the Federation of Malaya Delegation.
- Col. G. E. Wells, C.B.E., E.D., Clerk of the Federal Assembly and Secretary of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland Branch; Secretary to the Delegations from the Auxiliary Branches.



## OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE

The Sixth Parliamentary Conference was formally opened at 10 a.m. on Monday, 2nd November, by His Excellency the Governor-General of the Commonwealth of Australia.

On arrival at Parliament House, His Excellency was received with a royal salute by a guard of honour furnished by the Royal Australian Air Force. He was met by the President of the Senate, Senator the Hon. Sir Alister McMullin, K.C.M.G., Joint President of the Commonwealth of Australia Branch, who presented to him the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Commonwealth of Australia, the Hon. John McLeay, M.M., M.P., Joint President of the Branch; the Chairman of the General Council, Hon. Shri Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, M.P., Speaker of the Lok Sabha, India; the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia, the Rt. Hon. Robert Menzies, C.H., Q.C., M.P.; the Leader of the Commonwealth of Australia Branch Delegation, the Rt. Hon. Harold Holt, M.P., Treasurer of the Commonwealth of Australia and Leader of the House of Representatives; the Deputy Leader of the Australian Commonwealth Delegation, Dr. the Rt. Hon. H. V. Evatt, Q.C., M.P., Leader of the Opposition, Commonwealth of Australia; the Representative of the Australian States Branches, Mr. H. Richter, M.L.A., Queensland, and Mr. A. G. Turner, Clerk of the House of Representatives and Secretary of the Commonwealth of Australia Branch.

His Excellency entered Parliament House, where the Leaders and Deputy Leaders of Delegations from the Main Branches, two Delegates representing the Auxiliary and Affiliated Branches of the Association respectively, and the Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, who was on a visit to Australia and was specially invited to attend the Opening Ceremony, were presented to him in the absence through indisposition of the Secretary-General, Sir Howard d'Egville, K.B.E., by the Assistant Secretary-General, Mr. S. A. Pakeman, C.B.E., M.C., E.D., in the following order:— Rt. Hon. Lord Mills, K.B.E., Paymaster-General and Leader of the United Kingdom Delegation; Rt. Hon. Earl Attlee, K.G., O.M., C.H., Deputy Leader of the United Kingdom Delegation; Hon. Roland Michener, Q.C., M.P., Speaker of the House of Commons, Leader of the Canadian Delegation; Hon. Philip Skoglund, M.P., Minister of Education, Leader of the New Zealand Delegation; Senator the Hon. P. S. Hayward, Chief Government Whip, Leader of the Union of South Africa Delegation; Sardar Hukam Singh, M.P., Deputy Speaker of the Lok Sabha, Acting Leader of the Indian Delegation; Mr. R. E. Jayatilaka, M.P., Acting Leader of the Ceylon Delegation; Hon. A. Casely-Hayford, M.P., Leader of the Ghana Delegation; Hon. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra al-Haj, M.P., Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya; Hon. Ong Yoke Lin, M.P., Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, Leader of the Federation of Malaya Delegation; Mr. Ian D. Smith, M.P., Government Whip, Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, representing the Auxiliary Branches, and Hon. Sir John Cox, C.B.E., M.H.A., Speaker of the House of Assembly, Bermuda, representing the Affiliated Branches. The Representatives of the other five Australian States Branches were presented to His Excellency by Senator the Hon. Sir Alister McMullin, K.C.M.G., as Joint President of the Commonwealth of Australia Branch, and were as follows:— Hon. Donald Cochrane, M.L.C., New South Wales Branch; Hon. A. K. Bradbury, M.P., Victoria Branch; Mr. J. S. Clark, M.P., South Australia Branch; Mr. Daniel Norton, M.L.A., Western Australia Branch; and Hon. Kevin Lyons, M.H.A., Tasmania Branch.

A procession was then formed and entered the Chamber of the House of Representatives. His Excellency occupied the Speaker's Chair, and the Chairman



of the General Council and the Prime Minister of the Australian Commonwealth were seated on his right and left respectively.

The Chairman of the General Council requested His Excellency to open the Conference.

**The Chairman of the General Council: Hon. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, M.P. (Speaker of the Lok Sabha, India):** Your Excellency, Mr. President, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Prime Minister, brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen, on behalf of the Delegates to this Conference, I express my grateful thanks to Your Excellency for having so kindly consented to inaugurate our Conference this year in this place. It has been usual for the Head of a State to inaugurate these Conferences wherever held. Last year, the President of the Indian Republic inaugurated the Conference in Delhi. On that occasion, Ceylon, Pakistan and India joined forces. I am exceedingly sorry to inform you—although you and, indeed, the whole world know only too well—that the Prime Minister of Ceylon, who was present on that occasion, has since been murdered. May his soul rest in peace!

As Your Excellency knows, and as all the Delegates know, the primary object of this Conference is to bring all the nations of the Commonwealth together in a closer unity, so that we may create a better understanding of each other's problems. The British Commonwealth of Nations was designed to accommodate members of the British Empire which had become free nations. India was one. I must pay my humble tribute to all the persons who grace this Commonwealth as an institution. They can live at peace with one another notwithstanding the fact that some of them have become independent and have become republics. This is a happy family and I hope and trust that the deliberations of this Conference will bring us closer together and make us forget that we belong to different nationalities strewn far and wide all over the globe. During the last five weeks the Delegates have visited many parts of this beautiful island and have been encouraged in the belief that we are all one, irrespective of nationality, colour, creed, or political adherences. Representatives of Governments and Oppositions have been sent as Delegates to this country and to this Conference.

Ever since we landed at Perth, hospitality has been showered on us. Before some of us came here, Australia was a dark country to us. We knew it as the land of the kangaroo, but after coming here we have found that the kangaroo is rarely seen except in zoos and museums. Your men and women have worked hard to make Australia one of the foremost countries of the world. I am exceedingly happy to say that wherever I have been I have found the people active, well clothed and well fed. Nature has been bounteous and has not withheld any of her resources to this beautiful land.

After coming here, I was struck with the personality of your Prime Minister. Your Excellency, a few days ago other Delegates and I attended, in the Snowy Mountains, the opening of a new power station. Dame Pattie Menzies threw the switch which put the station into commission. Not only did we hear about this undertaking from your Prime Minister's lips; we also saw the magnificent enterprise. On behalf of the Delegates I congratulate him, and his Government, on this wonderful achievement in the Snowy Mountains. He is not confined, as it were, to Australia, he is swift to give his advice to the entire Commonwealth of Nations.

The main object of our visit to this country, and of our Conference, has been largely achieved. We want to establish contacts and better understanding, and also give the feeling that whatever may be our nationalities we are all one and must be treated as equal partners. That is the primary object of this Association, which allows various countries and various governments to meet in its midst. The British Empire changed itself into the British Commonwealth, and our Association, which was until then the Empire Parliamentary Association, is now designated the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association to enable those countries that became republics to come here. But there is this difference. Whereas all countries, whatever their forms of government, may be members of the Commonwealth of Nations, only those countries may be members of this Association that have adopted the parliamentary system of



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government. Therefore, the next important consideration or object of this Association is to establish and stimulate democracy wherever it is not, and to strengthen democracy wherever it is, and also to try to save parliamentary institutions. I am very happy to inform Your Excellency that wherever we have been in the States we have found a most harmonious relationship between a Government on the one side and an Opposition on the other side. At a function here the other day both the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition stood on the same platform, shook hands and offered eulogies on the work that has been carried out. I hope and trust that that spirit of democracy, of friendliness, between all sections of this country will be a moral for the rest.

The last of the three objects for which we have met is whether mere political democracy is worth anything to a man who is hungry; it must be given an economic content. Therefore, one of the important subjects of this Conference will be the development of the underdeveloped nations of this Commonwealth and also economic co-operation amongst the various members. Some are better placed than others and will certainly come to their help. I am aware, as other Delegates are aware, that, even earlier, Australia has extended its hand of fellowship, and its munificence, to various other countries in the Commonwealth under the Colombo Plan. I only want to say, after I have seen your country through and through, that you can double or treble the amount of help or assistance that you have been giving so munificently to them. There is no end to this. No country in the Commonwealth must rest content until every country, small or big, comes up to the same level of political freedom and the level of prosperity and the standard of living as the countries with the highest levels and standards.

Your Excellency, I am exceedingly happy that you have agreed to inaugurate this Conference. When Your Excellency has spoken I shall request the Prime Minister of this great country to address this gathering. I now humbly, on behalf of the Delegates, ask Your Excellency to be pleased to inaugurate this Conference.

**His Excellency the Governor-General, Field-Marshal Sir William Slim, K.G., G.C.B., G.C.M.G., G.C.V.D., G.B.E., D.S.O., M.C., K.St.J.:** Ladies and Gentlemen, on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen, the Head of the Commonwealth, of my Government and of the whole of the Australian people, I give you the warmest of welcomes. We are honoured and delighted that you should have chosen Australia as the scene of this Conference, and that you should be here in our national capital. I hope that those of you who have come from overseas have seen as much of our country as time has allowed you. I think you will have found that the welcome from our people to you as individuals is as sincere as that which we give to you as an Association.

I am a little afraid, sometimes, that listening to some of the speeches we have made to you, you must have thought that at any rate we believed Australia was perfect. Well, nothing is perfect, not even in Australia; but, while we may not be a perfect country, we are, I think, an interesting country. We are, like most of you, a young country, and there are many aspects of our national life which, I think, you must have found especially interesting.

For instance, as the old British Empire has rapidly transferred itself into the new Commonwealth of Nations, constitutions are in the air. But they cannot be left there. They have got to be got down on to firm ground. Not so long ago as time is measured in the history of nations, the statesmen of Australia—and they were statesmen—devised the Commonwealth of this country. It creaks a bit as the wheels go round, but it works, and future constitution-makers and present-day adjusters of constitutions may find that some practical examination of that constitution on the spot—of its strengths and weaknesses—may be well worthwhile.

Again, like many other nations and territories of the Commonwealth, Australia's prosperity still depends largely on its primary industries. We wrestle with all those problems of bad seasons, costs, transport, and fluctuating world prices and markets that are as familiar and as worrying to you as they are to us. Since the war we too, like so many of you, in this country have worked hard and, I think, intelligently, towards balancing our economy by building up secondary industry and by attracting



overseas capital and investment. There is much you can tell us of your experience in these matters, but the study of what we have done and the discussion of it might be of interest and possibly of value to you, even if it were only to help you to avoid the mistakes which inevitably, over the years, we must have made.

All those subjects are among the matters on your agenda, but I hope, too, you will still have opportunity outside the Conference to discuss them and all other things with Australians of all kinds, to our mutual benefit.

Now, this gathering is unique. It is unique in two ways. At no time in the past could the representatives of so many Parliaments have met together in this way. It is unique, too, because it is only from our own Commonwealth of Nations that we can collect them even now. In these meetings, I am sure, we are doing something that has never been done before—something that is of hope to the world. For all thinking men of whatever nation in or outside our Commonwealth this gathering must be a matter for satisfaction and for us, I think, it could justly be one for pride.

We are met, too, at a time in world history that is in some ways also unique. There have been many occasions since history began when great empires have broken up in violent struggle and misery for millions of mankind. But we have seen in the past century the greatest of all empires progress steadily, peacefully and voluntarily to the realization of a completely new concept—that of a diversity of self-governing nations linked by common beliefs, similar methods of government, mutual consultation and co-operation.

While this peaceful evolution among us has been going on there have, from time to time, loomed on our horizon new imperialisms, differing fundamentally in no way from the empires of old, except perhaps in greater scientific ruthlessness. In two great wars the nations here represented—you and I and our allies—have, at great cost in blood, hardship and treasure, struck down those tyrannies; but others rise again in their places, as they always have done.

To keep what we have gained in human freedom for ourselves and for all men our Commonwealth has now a more vital than ever part to play, and in many ways a more difficult one. Let us never forget that on all great issues the Commonwealth, even apart from its immense material resources, can speak with a voice which, if clear and united, will be listened to throughout the world as no other voice will be listened to, and those Parliaments that you represent, and those that are coming on and will appear in the course of the years, will have to take the leading role—and I mean “leading”—not only by expressing the will of your peoples but in teaching and forming public opinion in your own and other countries and maintaining standards of integrity throughout administration and public life that will be the envy of all.

Parliamentary government, as you know so much better than I do, by its very nature is subject to attack—attack from without, by those who see in it the greatest obstacle to the achievement of their unholy ambition, and, more insidiously, from within. I have watched in several countries, over the past twenty years, even in one or two of our own family, not only the growth of parliamentary institutions, but this attack from within. Sometimes this attack, we hope only temporarily, has had success; but, where it has, the Parliamentarians who have been swept so abruptly aside had only themselves to blame. They had fallen into two cardinal errors. First, and this is a great danger to all people who hold power, they had become cynical in their hearts. They had allowed themselves to develop a secret contempt for the people they represented. That feeling undermines all human relations when it gains control of a man. It is the attitude of the dictator. Secondly, they had, many of them, those parliamentarians who were swept away, by their lack of integrity in public and in private, and by their acceptance of corruption as a normal thing, given ammunition to those whether in the press or elsewhere who are always ready to attack democracy and parliamentary government. These attacks on parliamentary government are quite different from legitimate attacks on individual politicians. You accept those, I know, like I accept so many other things in my job, as the occupational hazards of the position. But attacks on the institution of Parliament itself are a much more serious matter. Anyone in a Parliament who, by his conduct, undermines the faith of the



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people in the system of parliamentary democracy serves his country and mankind very ill indeed.

Like every other institution, a Parliament is no better, no worse, than the men and women who compose it. Today, one of the strongest links that binds our Commonwealth together is plainly to be seen here—the close touch and consultation amongst our ever more numerous Parliaments. When we hold these consultations complete agreement on every issue is not to be expected. We do not have that even in our own local Parliaments. But, I would suggest to you that when it comes to practical co-operation and mutual help, to understand the other man's point of view is often as valuable to both of you as to be in agreement. A Canadian statesman whom I knew said a few years ago about the nations of the Commonwealth, "We each stand on our own feet, but we try to walk together". Well, here we are from all over the globe—members of the Commonwealth. Let us try, in tolerance, understanding, and friendship, to walk together, for, when the Parliaments and peoples of our Commonwealth advance together, no evil cause will ever be able to withstand them.

In that belief I pray God to bless your deliberations and to guide them to the welfare of all our people and to the good of mankind, and I now declare this Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference open.

**The Chairman:** I now request the Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia to address the gathering.

**The Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia, the Rt. Hon. Robert Menzies, C.H., Q.C., M.P.:** Your Excellency and Ladies and Gentlemen, my task is a very simple one and a very pleasant one. I am to welcome you to this place. I do not think I am a Delegate myself, so I take a purely detached view of this matter. As the head of the Government of this country I am delighted to welcome all the Delegates to Canberra.

One of the proofs of the value of a conference of this kind has just occurred to me. This must be the first time I have made a speech from this side of the House for ten years, and that is a very health-giving experience. If you find that there is something a little twisted about my remarks you will understand me when I say that I am not quite easy here. But, Sir, the opportunity presents itself—it is not, perhaps, as necessary to take it as it was before the two speeches to which we have all listened with such attention—to say a word or two about this Parliamentary Association and, in particular, about its meetings and its Conferences, like the ones about to begin.

One of the great features of these gatherings is that we do not meet to attack each other; we do not meet to exacerbate any differences that may exist; we meet primarily to achieve an understanding of each other and of each other's problems, to get a concentration of mind on the great elements of unity that we have in common, to develop our personal contacts, our personal friendships, and a greater mutual understanding of the parliamentary system in every country represented. That, though it can lead to vigorous discussion, is the kind of meeting that we all like, because its object is not to record differences, not to pass resolutions, not to engage in propaganda, but to achieve understanding and a willingness to assist each other mutually and in a friendly way.

In that respect, Sir, these meetings remind me always of the Conferences which occur at No. 10 Downing Street between the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth. No. 10 Downing Street is, of course, a very historic spot. Over the fireplace hangs a portrait of Walpole, an admirable portrait to have in a meeting of parliamentary people, particularly in a meeting of parliamentary leaders and Ministers because, as you recall, it was Walpole who, by resigning in 1742, brought into existence for the first time, consciously or unconsciously, the notion of responsible government; the notion that Ministers are responsible to Parliament and that they may be made or unmade by Parliament. From that very time, a little over 200 years ago, the authority of Parliament has been one to be received and, indeed, to be feared by those who undertake to serve in government. In the meetings of Prime Ministers we have many



discussions. We express ourselves with great freedom, as if we were in Cabinet. We meet in private, of course, but we express ourselves with freedom. We pass no resolutions. We arrive at a good deal of common understanding on many matters and we end up, I regret to say, by producing a communiqué, than which nothing more feeble could be imagined, because, you see, if you do not have votes—and that is quite right—then there may be nothing included in a communiqué which does not command the unanimous support of all the Prime Ministers present. The result is that it has a singularly filleted appearance when it sees the light. It contains only the matters about which we agree, which, although of the highest importance, are not particularly novel. The things on which we disagreed might have had all the charm of novelty, but we do not publicly refer to them. That is a system which has worked splendidly.

It is quite true that the meeting of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association is a meeting of legislators, not of people in executive government, but the broad principles are the same. I would imagine that the existence of this Association, the discussions that have occurred in it over a long term of years, and the personal contacts that have been made, all represent one of the very greatest contributions to the continued existence of the Commonwealth that one could possibly imagine. The Commonwealth, instead of being a theory, becomes almost a visible entity. One looks around this chamber and instead of seeing, as one normally would, people of one's own race and country sitting here, one can see the representatives of sixty communities. Here we have the Commonwealth of Nations brought into a microcosm of human beings. Therefore, for anybody with any imagination at all, it is a great meeting, a great experience, a great event in the history of the Commonwealth.

I do not need to tell you how warmly we welcome all of you to the capital of this country. May we conduct our meetings in such a spirit that, not only will they produce a splendid unity of understanding and of purpose, but will set an example to the whole world.

**The Chairman:** I now request the Rt. Hon. Lord Mills, Paymaster-General in the United Kingdom Government and Leader of the United Kingdom Delegation, to reply, on behalf of the Main Branches, to the address of welcome so ably moved by the Prime Minister.

**The Rt. Hon. Lord Mills, K.B.E.:** Your Excellency, Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates, we all feel honoured that His Excellence has opened this Conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. The remarks he has made, and those of the Prime Minister, have, I am sure, stimulated and encouraged us for the discussions which are to come. They have touched upon matters in which we feel a pride. They have touched upon matters for which I am sure, we feel gratitude.

We are proud to have witnessed the growth of this association of free nations playing a part which is unique in history—a Commonwealth of Nations co-operating to meet the needs of individual countries, and in matters which touch us all. The strength of the British Commonwealth is inspired by its free parliamentary institutions, and we in the United Kingdom Delegation take pride in the fact that to some extent, in a greater or lesser degree, many of the parliamentary procedures which we have adopted owe their origin to the experiences of the Mother of Parliaments over the centuries since we began to emerge from feudalism and patronage.

We are so grateful to you, Mr. Prime Minister, that we may hold our deliberations in this Parliament building which, in itself, is a sign of a free association of States—the Australian Commonwealth Parliament. We are gathered here, nations of different origins and of different religions. We come from the four corners of the earth. But there is one underlying truth which dwarfs our differences and which makes our association possible: we all believe in the inalienable value of the individual. It is that which makes our association possible. There are, of course, differences amongst us. No one would deny that. But we can, like a family, have a free and frank discussion and understand one another's points of view.

We are grateful that we have been privileged to come to this beautiful, great and expanding country, and we are grateful for the boundless hospitality of our hosts.



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I have been concerned with politics for less than three years, but I have always been impressed by what we are building and what we are all seeking to do. For three years from 1951 I was chairman of the Federation of Commonwealth and British Empire Chambers of Commerce. So that it is with a very full heart and a deep sense of thankfulness that, on your behalf, I thank His Excellency and the Prime Minister for addressing us.

**The Chairman:** I request Mr. I. D. Smith, Chief Government Whip, Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, representing the Auxiliary Branches, to address us.

**Mr. I. D. Smith, M.P.:** Your Excellency, Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is my privilege to speak on behalf of the Auxiliary Branches of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, and to thank Australia for the very generous—I would say, at times almost overgenerous—hospitality which has been given to us. We are happy and proud to have this opportunity, this exhilarating experience, of taking part in this memorable Conference which we all hope will play some part, albeit, a small part, in promoting the welfare and shaping the destiny of this great Commonwealth of ours.

We are honoured, Your Excellency, by the manner in which you so graciously opened our Conference, and we are very grateful to the Prime Minister for the kind welcome which he extended to us. Your Prime Minister, Sir, has a reputation as a world statesman which extends not only throughout our Commonwealth but also to the four corners of the globe.

I hope that our deliberations at this meeting will be fruitful. I hope, Sir, that perhaps they will even exceed our expectations and that, in true democratic style, we shall be able to see both sides of all questions which come before us; that we shall be able to see the other man's point of view; that we shall be able to reconcile our differences and that, where that is not possible, we shall be prepared, with good grace, to differ on certain points. I think that if, instead of pride and arrogance, we are prepared to practise humility and tolerance, perhaps we shall have gone most of the way. After all, Sir, there is no super-race in this world. I think history has proved this conclusively—both ancient history and modern history.

It was Shakespeare who said: "The fool doth think he is wise, but the wise man knows himself to be a fool". It is probably too much to expect that all the Parliamentarians gathered here—wise men, as I am sure they are—will be prepared to accept that they are fools. But, Sir, I am convinced that, if we are prepared to pause for a moment, particularly when things are going our way and we are on the crest of the wave, and to consider the other people in the world and make sure that nobody is ground down or crushed into the ground beneath our feet, and if we are prepared to be humble, to see the other man's point of view and to sit down and discuss our problems in a democratic way, there are no problems which our ingenuity and statesmanship cannot solve. If we achieve these ideals at our Conference, or if we achieve only some of them, then I think we will be successful in helping to bind together this great Commonwealth of ours, this united Commonwealth which has no tangible bonds but which is held together by the common ideals of freedom, of equal opportunity for all, and of insistence on ensuring that fair play is meted out to all men.

It is obvious from what I have seen that you, here in Australia, have made a great success of practising the democratic way of life. This is apparent to us when we see the great progress that you have made and the happy people that you have created. You have a wonderful philosophy of life. When you work you work hard, and when you play you play hard. If you are driving a tunnel through a mountain you break the world record, and then, for good measure, you break it again on two subsequent occasions. If your swimmers are taking part in the Olympic Games, they break a dozen records, as we all know. In other words, you are prepared to put everything you have into your country, and in return you take out the most that you can. Surely that, Sir, is the correct philosophy.

I have a special message to bring to the people of Australia from the people of my own country. During the war a number of your young airmen did their flying



training in Rhodesia, and many of them made fine friendships which have stood the test of time. More than that, some of them, when they returned to their country at the end of the war, brought back with them Rhodesian brides who today are Australian mothers. So, Sir, you will understand why I say that I bring to you a special greeting from the people of my country of Rhodesia.

Finally, I wish all Australians great good fortune for the future. I hope, Sir, that you will get back from this great country of yours dividends in proportion to what you yourselves have put into it. If you do so, then I know from what I have seen on this recent tour of ours that your heritage will indeed be a rich one.

**The Chairman:** I now request the Hon. Sir John Cox, Speaker of the House of Assembly of Bermuda, to speak on behalf of the Affiliated Branches.

**Hon. Sir John Cox, C.B.E., M.H.A.:** Your Excellency, Mr. Prime Minister, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is my privilege to reply, on behalf of the nine Affiliated Branches of this Association, to Your Excellency's gracious and perceptive speech, which was so ably supported by Mr. Prime Minister. I am accorded this privilege because Bermuda, whence I come, is the oldest of the Affiliated Branches of this Association, and it possesses the oldest Parliament in what used to be called the colonial empire. We are very proud of this heritage, this prize of parliamentary institution, which is something that all of us, of the sixty-odd nations represented here, so greatly cherish. For 300 years and longer we have been developing our parliamentary institution until we have reached a stage of virtual self-government. Many newer but much larger countries of the old colonial empire, such as Australia, Sir, have reached the full stature of nationhood. We can never aspire to that elevated position because of our small size. Neither do we desire to do so, for we have reached that stage of political development which gives us the freedom of self-government to which a political entity such as ours can properly aspire. If the other countries that have Affiliated Branches of this Association have not already reached the stage of development that we have achieved, they are treading the same path that we have trod, and which is a rewarding one.

I think the most significant political development in the British Commonwealth in this twentieth century has been in the way in which all parts of the Commonwealth have progressively advanced, either to self-government or to that admirable measure of self-government which we have achieved. Those which have not reached this desirable end are on the road to it. This development, however, has two serious defects, it seems to me. There is a greater difficulty in co-operating for the common good of all, and there is a weakening of the unity which was the strength of the old empire of the past. I think we are all agreed that the advance towards self-government is a desirable end, but this Commonwealth Parliamentary Association becomes increasingly important as the changes are brought about, and today we look to the Association to lead us in another way to that measure of security that we enjoyed in the past, and to that measure of co-operation which is so essential for the prosperity of the individual parts of the whole. I feel sure that we would all agree that a united and strong British Commonwealth of Nations will assure us greater security for the future, and an opportunity for greater prosperity for each of us in this combination of the Commonwealth.

In this regard, Your Excellency, I think that our hosts here at this Conference have set us an inspiring example. Since I arrived in this country I have been impressed by many things, but I think that what has impressed me most has been the fact that wherever we have gone, in every State, everyone we have met, regardless of his political party, has shown a devotion to the British tradition that we have all inherited.

In my view, there are so many things that we could emulate from what we have seen here in Australia. The industry, the courage, the initiative and the inventiveness of your people could well be followed; but if we can but match the loyalty to the Queen and to the Commonwealth, which is on every side displayed, the future of the British Commonwealth of Nations is, in my view, Your Excellency, brighter than it has ever been. To the extent to which we can each of us bring ourselves to adopt the



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inspiring, shining example which Australia has set, the nearer we shall be to realizing what we all have in our minds as the hope for the future.

I understand, Your Excellency, that other opportunities will occur, but I do not feel that I can lose this opportunity to say a brief word of thanks for all the kindness which has been extended to us during our stay in this country. Nothing has been too much trouble for you and everywhere we have been given such a cordial and warm welcome that we can only say, quite simply, that we are most appreciative and grateful. This has been for all of us a memorable and, indeed, an unforgettable experience.

**The Chairman:** I now request the Hon. Tunku Abdul Rahman, Prime Minister of the Federation of Malaya, to address the gathering.

**The Hon. Tunku Abdul Rahman Putra al-Haj, M.P.:** Your Excellency, Mr. Prime Minister and Mr. Chairman. I am actually here as an observer. However, I feel most happy and privileged that I have been asked to address the Conference. I understand, too, that the reason why I have been asked to address this meeting is that my colleague and friend, the Prime Minister of Australia, considers that, since he has to speak four times during this Conference, I should at least speak once. That was his explanation to me at the dinner which I had with him last night. I do not envy him the four times that he has to address you. I know how difficult it would be if I had to do it because gathered around this Chamber are men of experience, and of wide and great skill as Parliamentarians. If I were to say the wrong things I am sure that they would jump up and pull me down. And if I were to say the right things I am sure that they would all sit back, saying nothing, and forget all about them.

However, it is a great pleasure for me to be here while I am on my visit to Australia. I arrived only yesterday morning. My arrival was, of course, planned to coincide with the opening of this Conference. Everything has worked out very well indeed for me. I am only, as I said, here as an observer—we have our own Delegation which will be with you here throughout the whole Conference.

My earliest connexion with the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association dates back to as long ago as 1950—seven years before our independence. Less than two years ago our Delegates attended the Conference in New Delhi, sitting for the first time as the representatives of a full-fledged member of the British Commonwealth—only four months after our independence. On that great day in our history, the day of our birth as a nation, we were proud to declare our wish to be a member of the Commonwealth. It was a natural decision for us to make, because we in Malaya had long before declared for ourselves that the system of parliamentary democracy was the most suitable for our way of life.

I can give three main reasons. They are, of course, that under this system you have a fundamental respect for justice and law, and that it is a system which also works for tolerance and compromise. As we have learned from experience, living together as one nation of people drawn from three great cultures and races of Asia, parliamentary democracy is the right, and the only, answer for us. We hope to continue always under this system of parliamentary democracy—at least as long as we endure as a free nation. I hope the day will never come when we will have to give up our ideal and our faith in the form of democracy that we have freely chosen for ourselves.

Our Parliament in Kuala Lumpur is now fully and firmly established, as the result of a recent royal occasion, only two months ago, when our greatly respected ruler, Her Majesty the Yang-di-Pertuan Agong, formally declared open our House of Parliament for the first time. I know that all of you here will agree with me when I say that this was a very historic occasion for us. For the first time in our history we have a Parliament that is truly representative of the people.

Soon after I return from Australia I will be attending the first meeting of our Parliament. It will be a real business meeting—the budget meeting. You will understand, therefore, that I feel that it is very appropriate that I should be present here, even if only for a few hours. You will understand, too, if I say that we in Kuala Lumpur feel a great sense of satisfaction at having achieved in so short a time not only a national



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constitution but also a national Parliament. We are dedicated to the belief that parliamentary democracy is the only system which can deal with the vast range of problems of government in the complexity of modern life and, at the same time, maintain the sense of self-respect and human dignity which are inherent in the soul of man. Firm in that faith, we intend to make democracy live and flourish in the Federation of Malaya.

Mr. Chairman, I thank you very much indeed for this opportunity to speak briefly here at this opening ceremony. I hope the day will come soon when the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association will meet in the capital of the Federation of Malaya. You will always be welcome, but I cannot promise that we shall be able to give the same hospitality as my colleague and friend, the Prime Minister of Australia, is able to give you.

His Excellency then left the Chair, and was escorted from the Chamber by the Chairman of the General Council, the Prime Minister of the Australian Commonwealth, the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House of Representatives.



## ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION WITHIN THE COMMONWEALTH

At the First Session of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference the subject for discussion was "Economic Co-operation within the Commonwealth", and the opening speaker was the Rt. Hon. Harold Holt, Treasurer and Leader of the House of Representatives, Australian Commonwealth. The newly elected Chairman of the General Council, Senator the Hon. Sir Alister McMullin, K.C.M.G., President of the Senate, Australian Commonwealth, was in the Chair.

### Admittance of Press

The Conference met at 2 p.m. on Tuesday, 3rd November, and before discussion of the subject began the Conference considered whether any of the Sessions should be open to the Press.

**The Chairman of the Council (Hon. Sir Alister McMullin, K.C.M.G., President of the Senate, *Australian Commonwealth*):** Before beginning the proceedings I should like to say to Delegates how pleased we are to have reached the stage of holding our first Session. We have all looked forward to the beginning of the Sessions, and now we have arrived at the time when we will really get down to work.

I wish to inform Delegates that at the Barbados Council Meeting it was proposed, seconded and carried that the Press be admitted to all Sessions, except those that the Council might decide to declare closed Sessions.

**Rt. Hon. Harold Holt, M.P. (Treasurer and Leader of the House of Representatives, *Australian Commonwealth*):** I take it, Mr. Chairman, that you are inviting some discussion on this proposal. I certainly do not want to seek to impose on the Conference what might be regarded as the Australian point of view on this matter; but I should like, if I may, to offer some judgments which are based on experience gained at five out of the six post-war Conferences which have been held since 1948.

We have found, Ladies and Gentlemen, that in practice our purposes as a Conference are far better served if we do not admit the Press to our Sessions, but make available to the Press a synopsis of the discussion which has occurred in the conference Session. That is the product of experience—experience not merely in one method, but experience gained as a result of trying both methods. I think it was in New Zealand in 1950 that we decided to admit the Press. We had cause to regret it, and at the next Conference we returned quite firmly to our former practice.

I think the reason why the Conference has in the past found this desirable will become evident enough if we consider the purposes for which we are assembled. Some of the reasoning behind the proposal to admit the Press derives, I think, from our parliamentary practice and experience; but we are not met here as a Parliament. The essential character of a Parliament is that representatives of minority groups or minority elements and interests are able to voice their grievances, and the Government is put on test and must command the support of the majority of the Members of the chamber. So there is a public discussion, with the public finally resolving, over a long period, issues at the ballot box, and it is very proper that in those circumstances there should be the widest publicity given to what occurs inside the parliamentary Chamber. But our situation is rather more comparable, I believe, with that of a Prime Ministers' Conference or a Conference, say, of Finance Ministers who, when they meet, confer in order to look for the highest common denominator of agreement which may be produced by their discussion. I am sure that it is the wish of our Conference here that in the topics we discuss together we shall be looking for the greatest area of agreement that we can produce among ourselves.

If our discussions were to be given a balanced presentation by the Press and we all spoke with that objective of agreement in mind, much of one's objection to the admittance of the Press to the conference Session would disappear; but, unhappily, in this country and, I believe, in most countries, the Press these days rely on the sensational rather than on the factual and balanced to sell their story. In fact, I have myself adopted an aphorism to the effect that in the eyes of the Press good news is no news. They are looking for colourful and sensational things all the time, which can give a quite distorted and unbalanced representation of what takes place here.



I presume to speak from a lengthy experience of these Conferences. Nobody is wishing to conceal how we feel in relation to each other. Nobody has been muzzled as you have gone around this Commonwealth, nor will anybody be muzzled after this Conference is over. But I feel that we will advance our own thinking more successfully inside this Conference if we can speak with the greatest frankness to each other. Those with ministerial responsibilities can then feel able to disclose, virtually on a Cabinet basis, such information as we possess. Quite clearly, we would dehydrate our discussions of international affairs and defence if everything said could be taken down and scattered far and wide abroad. If we attempt to select particular topics, I think we shall only embarrass ourselves even more in the long run.

The practice that we have adopted in the past has worked well. The Press have been given a good coverage of what has been said. It has been given the substance of each speech that has been made. I recommend that a practice which has served us so well in the past should be continued.

**Hon. Roland Michener, Q.C., M.P. (Speaker of the House of Commons, Canada):** Without taking up any more time than is necessary, I should like to associate myself with what Mr. Harold Holt has said. It is the considered view of the Canadian Delegation that our interests generally would be better served by continuing the practice which has been found to be acceptable and satisfactory in the past, rather than to depart into new ground. I should like to reinforce that contention by one other example. Mr. Holt has cited the practice adopted at Prime Ministers' Conferences and at our own meetings. Recently, with our cousins in the United States of America, we in Canada formed a joint inter-parliamentary group. We had a three-days' discussion in Montreal on critical issues that bothered our relationships. We divided into three groups and discussed those topics frankly and fully, in a way which we could not have done had the Press been there, or had it been possible to quote the Senators and Members of the House of Representatives verbatim, because, obviously, they were speaking frankly, with the idea of reaching common ground, rather than expounding their partisan views for their political advantage.

As was pointed out by the Prime Minister the other day, the fact that this is a great non-partisan Association also is an argument in keeping our discussions to ourselves. We are here in Delegations from all political parties. We are not talking on party lines or for party advantage. I think it will facilitate our discussion a great deal if we can speak frankly and freely, knowing that we will not be quoted verbatim, but that the substance of what we say will be accurately expressed in the form of a summary.

**Hon. Archibald Casely-Hayford, M.P. (Ghana):** Mr. Chairman, I believe that this matter came up for discussion on a previous occasion because it was felt that perhaps not enough publicity was given to the proceedings, the work, the policy, and the ambitions generally of our Association. I agree with the speaker who said that, after all, we must relate this matter to our previous experience. Over the last eight years the practice that we have adopted has worked extremely well. In proposing to make a change, we must be very careful to consider how that practice has worked thus far.

As to publicity, I think that I have advocated on a previous occasion that it may be possible to set up some sort of machinery in the way of propaganda to give publicity to what we are doing. I do not know whether that could be done by a department of our office organization, or whether a particular officer could be delegated to emphasize that part of our work. Perhaps cinema films could be used, showing the places to which we go, and our other activities on our tours. If that were done, I think that the members of the public would get to know more of our activities.

It must be remembered always that the Press in Canberra may be quite a different Press from that of other places, in regard to the way in which matters we deliberate upon are likely to be handled. Finally, there may well come a time when a Conference of the Association may have to consider a more realistic discussion of subjects, or the discussion of subjects that are perhaps more controversial. It will be a safeguard, should such a situation rise, if we are able to control the admission of the public generally. I feel that we have followed the right lines in the past in trying to keep these



Conferences to ourselves except when, for specific reasons, we have felt that it would be in the interests of the public that the Press should be admitted.

The Chairman put the question to the meeting, and it was decided *nemine contradicente* that the Conference be closed to the Press.

### Economic Co-operation within the Commonwealth

**Rt. Hon. Harold Holt, M.P.:** Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates, the speeches which have been addressed to us since we met in Canberra, and indeed, many of those you have heard as you have gone your rounds of the conference tour, have expressed the spirit which imbues our Commonwealth. They have shown how its unity is spun from many diverse strands. They have placed emphasis on two of the principal factors which bind us together—our recognition of the Queen as Head of the Commonwealth and our maintenance of the system of parliamentary democracy on the model of the Mother of Parliaments at Westminster. But, as we all are aware, we have other common interests and aspirations which encourage us to seek the highest degree of agreement for such purposes as trade, defence and international relations. In the series of topics listed on our agenda we shall be trying to give practical expression to the spirit of Commonwealth and to our family relationship.

The Commonwealth, taken as a whole, is a highly significant factor in any aspect of world affairs. This is not surprising when we realize that our membership embraces one-fourth of the world's population and that our territories are spread over one-fifth of the world's land mass. It follows that we constitute a highly important factor in any consideration of the world economic situation. Commonwealth trade amounts to about 30 per cent. of the total trade of the world outside the Soviet bloc. In absolute terms, exports of the Commonwealth averaged about 28 billion dollars in the three years 1956–58, and in the same period total imports of Commonwealth countries averaged nearly 32 billion dollars. Because of its volume alone, therefore, Commonwealth trade is of great significance for world trade as a whole. There can be scarcely any product known to man that is not produced somewhere in the Commonwealth, whether in the field of manufacture, raw materials, or primary products; or whether they be products of the tropics, the temperate zones, or the Arctic.

The United Kingdom has long been one of the leading workshops of the world. Other Commonwealth countries—Australia and Canada, perhaps, more conspicuously, but there have been others moving in this direction—have been developing rapidly their manufacturing capacity. To a large extent, however, the remaining countries of the Commonwealth depend on exports of raw materials and other primary produce. The Commonwealth is, in fact, the principal world source of many of these products—for example, wool, rubber, tea, cocoa, jute, metals. Those are just some of the many items that could be cited.

So, the healthy expansion of Commonwealth trade must carry with it the expansion of world trade, not merely in the sense that it adds to the total of world trade, but in the sense that it must, in the normal course, lead to increased trade within the Commonwealth and also in countries outside the Commonwealth. It is therefore not only in our own interests but also in the best interests of the world economy as a whole that we in the Commonwealth use occasions such as this, and as provided by other machinery for consultation, to discuss together problems of Commonwealth trade and its relationship to world trade. How can our mutual co-operation be most effectively developed? A quick survey of how we have gone about matters in the past may be helpful to our examination of this question. It will certainly reveal that we have greatly improved our machinery for consultation together.

Some Delegates here today may remember the circumstances in which the Ottawa Agreement came into being in 1932. It was made in a period of deep economic depression. Everywhere, barriers to trade had been erected by countries trying to preserve their international solvency. At Ottawa the system of Commonwealth preference was worked out. That system served a very useful purpose in stimulating trade within the Commonwealth and it still has considerable value in its present modified form. But the situation which gave rise to it has passed from us. The principal aim of the



Commonwealth now is to reduce restrictions on trade and payments all around the world. We wish to enlarge world trade generally and we do not seek to increase it within the Commonwealth only.

At the Commonwealth Economic Conference of 1952 we, the Commonwealth countries, declared that we would follow a policy of multilateralism. Since that great Conference much progress has been made. There is not time to go into much of the detail, but another major step forward of crucial importance was taken at the end of 1958, when sterling, along with other major European currencies, was made freely convertible for all non-residents of the Sterling Area, except for certain minor transactions of a capital nature.

The year 1958 saw another significant development in our process of consultation. It was decided at the Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference held in Montreal that year to establish a Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council as a focal point for meetings between senior economic Ministers and officials from Commonwealth countries. These are now to become a regular feature of Commonwealth economic co-operation.

The Council will have its headquarters in London, and we are indebted to the generosity of Her Majesty the Queen for the use of Marlborough House, where the Council will have its home. The Council will not, in any sense, become a central policy-making body. Consistently with the traditional informality which has characterized the association between Commonwealth countries, it will provide scope for discussion and permit of a good deal of flexibility in our arrangements.

I do not know whether there are other Finance Ministers in our gathering here today, but certainly Mr. de Zoysa will have fresh in his mind, as I have, the very valuable, friendly and constructive discussions we had together at the Conference in London. It certainly demonstrated the value, quite apart from the things of the spirit which hold us together, of these consultations on substantial material matters.

In addition to the exchanges through normal official channels and the meetings of Commonwealth Finance Ministers which have come to be held shortly before the annual meetings of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank—in both of which we have, of course, common interests—there are meetings between senior Commonwealth officials when occasion demands, regular meetings between balance of payments experts on Sterling Area prospects, and regular discussions by officials stationed in London through the Commonwealth Liaison Committee. This Liaison Committee has been giving particular attention to the negotiations and developments relating to the new trade groupings in Europe, on which I will have a little more to say later.

Then, the sort of machinery I have referred to is supplemented, of course, by the regular consultation through the Commonwealth Relations Office and through our own High Commissioners, in addition to the visits paid by individual Ministers and officials to other Commonwealth countries. It is good to find this process of visitation and consultation growing very extensively. It is usual for the Prime Ministers, when they meet in conference, to have some discussion on Commonwealth economic and trade problems. I am sure we have noted with interest that another Conference of Prime Ministers is to be held in London next year. It will then have been three years since they last met in 1957. I would certainly hope that they would meet at shorter intervals in future. We live in a swiftly moving, swiftly changing world, and our Commonwealth reflects this movement and change. It is important that our Commonwealth leaders shall maintain the closest contacts with one another to advance our common interests.

In the time available I shall not be able to do more than touch on a few particular matters which I believe to be of importance for us and which call for our closer co-operation. The first arises from the transformation which has occurred in the balance of payments situation in so many countries. The sterling reserves of the United Kingdom, for example, rose from £661 million in September, 1957, to £1,173,000 in September, 1959. They have now reached their highest point since 1951. Sterling has become one of the world's strongest currencies. This is of particular importance



in the Commonwealth. All Commonwealth countries, except Canada, are in the Sterling Area, and for them a strong sterling pound is an aid to trade. Since sterling finances about 40 per cent. of the world's trade, a strong pound is important for world trade as a whole.

The external balances of West Germany have for some time been almost embarrassingly high, but quite dramatic improvements have occurred in other European countries also—notably in France and Italy. On the other hand, the United States has run into huge balance-of-payments deficits in each of the last two years. There was a deficit of 3 billion dollars in 1958; estimates for this year's deficit are running as high as 4 to 4½ billion dollars. It is important for us to note that these deficits are not due to any failure on the part of the United States to sell more goods overseas than she imports, but to the scale of defence expenditure by the United States outside America, and to the foreign aid which she makes available to other countries.

The dollar is still, of course, a strong currency, backed by a large part of the world's stock of gold. But, in the changed payments situation of the last two years, there has been a very significant redistribution of reserves. It is not surprising that these United States deficits have resulted in strong pressure being exerted, through the machinery of the International Monetary Fund and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, for the removal of discrimination and for the removal of all quantitative restrictions which cannot be justified on balance-of-payments grounds. With increased quotas in the International Monetary Fund now effective, the second line of reserves of member countries has been strengthened substantially. There has been, in short, a general improvement in international liquidity, and this should improve the trade prospects of all countries.

We seem to be moving fairly rapidly to a situation where the widespread postwar restrictions on trade and payments will have very largely disappeared in most important trading countries. The position now reached is that, as an international trading currency, sterling is as readily usable as it was before the war.

Most countries of the Commonwealth in the postwar years have had to restrict imports and payments abroad, not only to preserve an overall balance in their own payments but also to ration the use of "scarce" currencies.

The restrictions of this postwar period have, for the most part, been discriminatory, particularly against the dollar. But we have been steadily moving away from that position. There is not much discrimination left now in restrictions still imposed by countries of the sterling Commonwealth on trade and payments. In Australia's case, considerably more than 90 per cent. of our imports are now free from any discriminatory restrictions and about half of them are either exempt from licensing or licensed without restriction. We aim at getting rid of discrimination altogether as quickly as possible. Indeed, it is our intention to remove all quantitative restrictions, whether discriminatory or not, just as soon as we can.

At our meeting in London we recognized that the complete removal of long-standing restrictions can present some practical difficulties. If rather violent internal adjustments are to be avoided, some time may be needed before all restrictions are completely swept away. Countries with big programmes of industrial development may find the strain imposed on their balance of payments too strong to permit them to free their trade of all quantitative restrictions in the immediate future.

We can expect, however, that the United States—and in this, I imagine that country will have the strong support of Canada also—will be pressing very hard for a complete removal of discrimination and quantitative restrictions. A symptom of this is the pressure now being applied on most countries which, since the war, have availed themselves of the "transitional" provisions in the International Monetary Fund Agreement.

If a general move is made from the provisions of Article 14, which provided a certain area of flexibility for what was described as the postwar transitional period, and if we move through to Article 8, which recites the general obligation of members, then countries which, until now, have functioned within the terms of Article 14 will find themselves subject to much stricter rules of supervision with respect to their



restrictions and, in particular, their discriminatory restrictions. Yet, I think most countries recognize that a continuance of their shelter under Article 14 is really not justified on balance-of-payment grounds.

Admittedly, there is not much consistency about the American attitude. The United States maintains restrictions against lead and zinc, for example, and certainly many valuable farm products of consequence to Commonwealth countries. But it is still likely to insist that much of its dollar aid henceforth should be spent on dollar goods and services, and I believe that it will maintain its pressure for the removal of discrimination by other countries. However inconsistent that attitude, so wide are the ramifications of its own trade, defence and other aid arrangements that those pressures are likely to have some considerable effect.

The next matter to which I should like to refer is the situation which has emerged in relation to the proposed trade groupings in Europe. In company with most other Commonwealth countries, Australia favours the creation of a European economic community with the widest basis of membership; and we share today the concern of other Commonwealth countries to find that the countries associated in what has come to be known as the "Six"—Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg—are apparently unwilling to become associated in the wider European economic community which had been hoped for. The United Kingdom, in order to protect its own trade interests, has been actively engaged in negotiations with the other members of what is now known as the "Seven"—Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Portugal, Austria, and Switzerland, in company with the United Kingdom. Generally, the more one studies the negotiations and the cross currents of interests, the more one feels that there is some significance in the old reference to people being at sixes and sevens with one another. The seven make up what has become known as the European Free Trade Association.

I am sure you will share our sense of concern at the prospect that this division of European trade into these two powerful groupings will mean an indefinite deferment of the much more desirable wider community which could offer some prospect of generally increased world trade, whereas restriction to these two narrow groupings, far from widening the prospect of world trade, could lead to an intensification of protectionism in favour of the primary products of those areas, not only against each other but also against the primary exporting countries in other parts of the world.

This problem of discrimination against primary products is of lively concern, I believe, to many Commonwealth countries. The best gains in recent years, over this period when external balances have improved and world prosperity has strengthened, have been made by the industrialized countries rather than by those mainly producing primary products. Because of the world supply and demand situation, the primary producing countries may have to face a long period of relatively unfavourable terms of trade. It becomes all the more significant, therefore, and it would be in our common interest to strive for arrangements that will limit fluctuations in the prices of primary products. This is a matter that has been receiving a lot of study internationally. Australia is one of the Commonwealth countries actively engaged in promoting these studies and seeking practical means of achieving some price stability for primary products. But it is a matter of great consequence to us, also, to muster all the strength that we can together as a Commonwealth to see that the methods applied by other countries are not allowed, in violation of their international obligations, to discriminate against the exporters of primary products in the Commonwealth.

Mr. Menzies, our Prime Minister, in his introductory speech here yesterday, stressed that our Commonwealth is a considerable political and moral force in the world. In concert, we can powerfully influence the course of events. As members of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, for example, we can combine to make that organization a more effective instrument for promoting fair trade practices and, in particular, ensuring that regional or bilateral arrangements do not prejudice the trading interests of other countries, including our Commonwealth countries. I believe we must do all that we can together to promote the closer integration of trade in Europe and to discourage any form of protectionism which violates the principles to which all member countries have agreed in G.A.T.T.



The third matter that I turn to is that of the problem of capital for development. There was much discussion, both at the London Conference and at the annual meetings of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank in Washington, on this topic. The United States has, in company with other leading industrialized countries, recognized the importance of making more capital available for development around the world. At the same time, confronted with its own balance-of-payments situation, it is obviously determined that some of the burden for the provision of this capital shall be carried by other countries. Both the recognition of the need and this determination have been given practical expression in a proposal put forward by the United States Administration at our Washington meetings. That is a proposal for the creation of an International Development Association.

It is proposed that this body shall function as an affiliate of the International Bank, and be provided with an initial capital of one billion dollars. It is to make available loans to underdeveloped countries. All member Governments supported this important proposal in principle, although some—including several Commonwealth countries—expressed reservation on some major points of detail. We made it clear, for example, that we wished the eligibility for loan assistance to extend to territories of member Governments, although those territories were not themselves eligible for membership of the association. I think you will find that there will be strong agreement amongst the countries which are members of the International Bank that this condition should apply. I feel, however, that we should be wise to recognize its limitations and also perceive, rather more clearly than so far seems to have been the case, the limits likely to be found in the provision of development capital around the world on any very substantial scale. One billion dollars sounds a lot of money, but it will not all be provided at once, and it must be spread amongst many countries.

There is undoubtedly a world shortage of development capital. This is experienced not only in underdeveloped countries—although its need is obvious enough there—or even in those which, like Australia, may be said to stand midway, having already achieved a considerable degree of development, while, at the same time, requiring some imported capital in order to press on with that process. The shortage of capital applies also in the more mature economies. You find a country like France, for example, with the vast potentialities opening up in the Sahara, looking for capital for development that can be achieved there. I was interested to find evidence of a shortage for government purposes in the United Kingdom. It certainly applies, in some directions, in the United States of America herself.

While on my recent journey abroad, in the course of which I tried to make some loan arrangements, I found how limited the international bond market is; and I propose to illustrate that for you by some figures which I took out showing the comparatively small volume of money so far raised on the New York and London markets for the borrowing purposes of the Commonwealth. In the period from September, 1958, to September, 1959, the total amount raised for Sterling Areas on the markets in New York was 70 million dollars, or roughly £25 million. In the same period the total borrowings on the London market—and the United Kingdom Government excludes from the London market all but sterling Commonwealth borrowers—were £50 million sterling. So you will see that over the whole field of the Commonwealth in that year in New York and London a total amount of £75 million sterling was raised. The accessibility of those markets does not seem to be widening. We have found it extremely difficult to raise substantial sums, although our own credit rating is as high as that of any country in the world. Sir, this fact I feel must be borne in mind in our respective countries when we are trying to assess the availability of money for our respective purposes—money which can be raised outside and does not come to us from our own internal savings or the increased production we are able to achieve for ourselves.

In the United Kingdom, for example, the Government, because of a shortage of capital for various government purposes, has had to limit access to its market, and I know that many local government bodies in the United Kingdom have been waiting for a number of years in order to secure approval for some modest borrowings for their own needs on the markets in London. So with all the goodwill in the world from the present Chancellor of the Exchequer and his colleagues in the Government,



I think it would be unrealistic and unreasonable of us to expect any great availability of loan money from there.

We all have ambitious development plans, but we must all try to relate them to reality. Of all the Commonwealth countries, the United Kingdom is the only one which is a net exporter of capital and most are trying to import capital for development purposes from overseas. Our best prospect—and events over the last few years have amply demonstrated this in the case of Australia—of securing the capital we need lies in the maintenance of sound financial and economic policies. As it was expressed to me, “Capital goes where it feels welcome and it remains where it is well treated”. Development programmes inevitably put pressure on resources. The problem is to harness expansion with stability. The pursuit of sound internal policies was one of the chief aims on which Commonwealth Governments agreed in 1952. We all know from hard experience how disruptive inflation has been to world trade in the years since the war. This has led to violent fluctuations in commodity prices. It has put development programmes at hazard and given rise to serious balance-of-payments difficulties. Now, however, most countries of the world seem to be entering a period of more stable conditions. All around the world, Governments have made firm declarations of their intention to keep internal inflationary forces in check. As Mr. Per Jacobsson, the capable managing director of the International Monetary Fund, said at our recent annual meeting in Washington, “In all likelihood, world inflation is over”. But we would all do well to ponder the warning he coupled with this statement: “My belief,” he said, “is that strong forces in the world economy will act as a brake on price increases, and the international trend will therefore be towards stability.” He added these significant words, “If any individual country embarks on inflation it will do so at its own risk. For gone are the days when any one country which inflated might hope to be saved by inflation elsewhere.”

The three factors of trade, development, and economic stability must go together. Economic stability is by no means the least of these three; indeed, it is fundamental for success with our trade and with our development. Our co-operation will be all the more effective and our combined Commonwealth strength the greater if we are all equally determined and effective in pursuing domestic policies essential for sound national finance.

**Mr. Harold Winch, M.P. (Canada):** Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates, I know that we have all listened with a great deal of interest to the able address that was given by the previous speaker, and I think you will agree with me that in half an hour he has condensed a great deal of data and posed in a factual way a great many of the problems that today face not only the countries of the Commonwealth but the countries of the world. May I open up my own few remarks by saying that before I left Canada I was told by many that I would see many things that were new in Australia. I certainly have, Sir, in the past five weeks. One of the most astounding things occurred yesterday when, for the first time in twenty-seven years, I sat on the Government side of the House; but I notice that today I am back in my usual position.

Mr. Chairman, I am certain that we will all agree that we are meeting at a time in history that is serious and critical, and that the future of our own individual nations, our Commonwealth, and the world is dependent upon the realistic thinking that is done by the Governments and the statesmen of the world and by such Conferences as we are holding here at the present time.

The situation is both serious and difficult. On the one hand we see the complications and the complexities that are brought about because of big-power politics. As nations of the free world and of the Commonwealth of Nations, we are facing the threat of an economic cold war by powers of dictatorship which are not interested in cost to themselves or others as long as they can achieve their own aspirations. And as was pointed out by the previous speaker—most effectively, I thought—as nations of the Commonwealth, we are now faced with the establishment of a common market and the free trade area in the European countries. I presume that we cannot blame them for the action they have taken; they have had to do it because of their own position. But we do have to face up to the stark fact that it is already having a



serious effect on our own nations of the Commonwealth. We only need to read the record to see that many of our own large companies of the Commonwealth of Nations, facing the economic effects of the common market in Europe and the free trade area, have formed their own companies and established industries in those countries. Following automatically on that objective, there has been a detrimental effect in the home countries and in the time ahead we will have perhaps an even more detrimental effect.

Mr. Chairman, because of the world situation, markets, economic cold war and threats of expansion of the cold war, the gathering of European nations together for reasons of their own salvation, I say, brings us, the representatives here of the British Commonwealth of Nations, up against hard facts. Perhaps we have to take a new look, a new view, and a new approach if we are to maintain for our people and our countries the high standards that already exist in some countries and if we are to be able to raise the standards of those that are not yet up to the heights of the major countries. I know that there are many others here who are far more able than I am and who have greater responsibilities than I have, but I would like in the ten minutes which I have before me to express my view that in our new look and new approach we shall have to adopt a purely unselfish and a non-political basis.

This will be necessary because, on the hard facts, some of the propositions with which we shall have to deal may be somewhat unpopular in the initial stages. I was very glad to hear the previous speaker's reference to inter-nation trade, because it is my conviction that one of the first things we must do is take a new look at the tariff regulations now existing in various parts of the Commonwealth. Although I honestly admit I have not been able to think of any detailed plan, I do feel that it is most important that we look at our own countries honestly and adopt a different viewpoint. The necessity for this has been driven home to me during the past five weeks, while travelling through this great country with approximately one hundred Delegates, representing all the components of the Commonwealth to which we belong. I have had many talks with Delegates and as a result have developed not only a realization of the problems involved in developing the resources and achieving the aspirations of all the countries that make up this Commonwealth, but I have also come to a realization of the fact that unless we can coolly, calmly and sensibly recognize what is going on we shall run into trouble.

It is reasonable, logical and understandable that we should have planned and built for the self-sufficiency of our own individual countries, that we should have planned to obtain the best for our people and to make the best use of our resources. Every member of our Commonwealth is doing that, and logically so. But what is the direct economic result of it going to be? I find that a surprising number of the countries of the Commonwealth are most anxious to develop power in order to establish an aluminium industry. I do not know what the world market for aluminium is now, but I do know that for the past year the aluminium industry of Canada has been working on short time because it cannot dispose of its product. This should give Delegates some idea of the difficulties which I foresee. I know that my friends from Alberta and Ontario might not like what I am about to say, but, why do we grow beet for sugar in Canada when, as I have learned, so much sugar-cane is being grown in other parts of the Commonwealth? I know that I am almost committing political suicide if what I am saying gets back to my constituents; but the problem we have to face is that in our motivation of self-sufficiency in our own countries we must guard against a competitive struggle between the countries of the Commonwealth when engaging in the competitive struggle against the other countries of the world.

Therefore, I feel that our future policy should be the development of a greater understanding, of greater co-operative planning, thinking and action towards the establishment of Commonwealth self-sufficiency, because in that way we may avoid some of the drastic features of our future problems. If we can do that we shall have achieved something. Some may argue that I am just dreaming, that I am being idealistic in making this suggestion. I am sure, however, that although they realize that with the desire of individual countries to build up their own economic standards, great problems will confront us and innumerable questions will have to be resolved, all



Delegates present will agree that we should now face up to the cold, hard facts of competition and, within this Commonwealth, urge our Governments to give some thought to particular countries producing the things they are best able to produce, the things for which they are suited, by their resources and their environments, to produce. I believe that it is essential that we have co-operation between countries within the Commonwealth with a view to introducing planned production, each country producing what it can produce most efficiently at a reasonable price and then working out methods of distributing these products to the people of the Commonwealth.

I am not an economist, but, from my reading and my knowledge, I am afraid that, unless we start planning and thinking along those lines, then, no matter how high our aspirations, no matter how great our expressions of brotherly love, no matter how much we talk of democracy, we shall run blindly into a future which perhaps we personally may not have to face, but which will have to be faced by our children. They will be beset by problems brought about by our failure to face up to the facts.

I realize that it is rather unfair to throw this suggestion out merely as a general principle and to give no indication how it can be done, but, as one attending the Conference for the first time, as one who in the past few weeks has developed new friendships and a new understanding of the meaning of the Commonwealth and its problems, I am convinced, when aligning that new knowledge to the present economic situation and to the potentialities of the future, that we must appreciate that we cannot have countries bulging with wheat while brother countries are hungry, that we cannot hope to preserve democracy unless we accompany our words with actions. It is essential, too, that the smaller nations in the Commonwealth realize that Canada, for instance, has her problems—I know Australia has them, too—and that we cannot change things overnight. If, however, we have the desire to face the facts, to face the future honestly and constructively, if, although we cannot make decisions here, we carry back to our respective Governments some appreciation of the feelings and sentiments expressed by other countries in the Commonwealth, then I suggest we shall have accepted our responsibilities as Parliamentarians and members of this Association, and the future will be all the better for it.

**Hon. S. W. Smith, M.P. (New Zealand):** Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, after having heard two addresses, the first by Mr. Harold Holt, who gave a very good picture of world trading and world conditions generally, and the second by Mr. Winch, with those sentiments we can all agree, I feel very privileged to add my few words. I want to refer shortly, later on, to the economic conditions that are operating in my own country.

Could I say, at the outset, that it is my privilege to attend for the first time a Conference of this Association. Up to date we have had what could be called a glorious holiday. We have received great hospitality, and from the quick look we have had, we have come to appreciate the size of this country; one could not go across the Nullarbor Plain without realizing that size. We have seen the evidence of the fertility of the country and, perhaps above all, realized its potentialities. It is a pleasure trip, but for a sound basic reason—that we meet together as fellow Delegates from Parliaments and get an appreciation of the views of the other Members of the Commonwealth family. We learn much and, we hope, contribute something in the discussion of those problems that we face as a Commonwealth of Nations.

Trading was the lifeblood of the British Empire. Trading will, I think, be the lifeblood of the Commonwealth of Nations. I have always subscribed to the theory that friendly trading—fair competitive trading, if you like—is an essential ingredient in the mixture that will bind and unite this Commonwealth in a unity that is good, and will be good, not only for those of us who are privileged to be members of it but for the whole world in general. I find myself in agreement with the remarks of Sir Oliver Franks, who said that the Commonwealth is built on the positive foundation of mutual advantage and consent.

We are, whether or not we like to admit it, primarily concerned with the problems of our own particular country. We have been so for a long time, and we shall be for the foreseeable future. We talk of the underdeveloped countries, but all of the con-



stituent members of the Commonwealth—I suppose I could except Great Britain—have much to do in the way of development. Australia is a vast continent with so much to do, Canada is a vast territory with so much to do, and South Africa and New Zealand are relatively young countries with a mighty lot to do yet in the way of development. But I am sure that we realize basically that the welfare and economics of our country are bound up with the welfare and economics of all the other countries within the Commonwealth.

I have heard it said that the Commonwealth, with its areas extending almost to the North and South Poles, with its production, comprised as it is of all types of primary products, and with an output of high-class manufactured goods of all kinds, could in itself be self-supporting. I personally think that that is a pipe-dream. We comprise one-fifth of the area of the world. Four-fifths of the world does not belong to the Commonwealth. That four-fifths comprises countries with whom we must live and trade. I believe that, even if it were possible, the Commonwealth would not expand on a basis of a closed area of trade, apart from the rest of the world with which we must trade. I am sure that it will be possible—it must be possible—to work out a policy of reciprocal agreements and preferences within the Commonwealth.

I said that we had some development problems in New Zealand. It is true that they fade into insignificance compared with the development problems of the more recent entrants into this Commonwealth of Nations. Each Commonwealth nation has shown its acknowledgment of this fact by assisting as far as it could with the Colombo Plan our brothers in those countries that have a long way to go. While it is true that the contribution from my country could, perhaps, be likened to the widow's mite, it is also true that the money that is granted under that Plan, with the knowledge and full approval of the people, is the one commitment that is not questioned by the taxpayers. They want to know—and they are entitled to know, of course—only where, when, and how wisely the money is being spent.

Last year's Conference of Commonwealth Finance Ministers, and this year's Conference, too, brought up the matter of a central bank for the Commonwealth, for the purpose of assisting with finance. Mr. Holt has referred to the International Monetary Fund. Incidentally, Mr. Chairman, we do not belong to the International Monetary Fund. In that respect, I believe that we have Russia as our only partner. We do not get the assistance that we could get and should get from that Fund. Like other countries, we find capital for development not easy to get. I do not know whether or not the proposed bank could work. I am no economist, and I may be completely wrong in thinking that it could work. It was Mr. Heathcoat Amory who, at last year's Conference, said that if only those who were qualified spoke, the world would be full of a profound silence. You and I, as Members of Parliament, would appreciate that.

I should like to give my colleagues from other countries some idea of the economy of New Zealand. We are a very young country. We pride ourselves on having come a long way in a short time. In earlier years we leaned heavily on what we are proud to call our Mother Country. Our forebears, of course, came from there. We borrowed large sums of money for development, but I think the Mother Country, too, is getting a bit short of cash. We still rely on her to take the great bulk of our primary products in the form of meat, butter and dairy produce. We have built up a trade with Australia. There is no need for me to tell Mr. Holt that we wish we could improve our trade balances a little, because we are very much on the debit side. With our timber, paper, pulp, and some manufactured articles, and with the kindly help of the Government of this country in making licences available, we might catch up a little on that balance of trade.

We are also expanding our markets in the East, some in countries that are members of the Commonwealth, and some in countries that are not. We have a vast, growing output of primary production. We are compelled to search for markets. We know the limitations of Great Britain, and we take per head the greatest amount of goods manufactured in Great Britain. However, with a population of only 2,500,000, the total is small. Our production has grown and is growing. We are very vulnerable to the effects of price fluctuations in primary production. We live on the income from



the produce of sheep and cows, and we rely on this in turn to buy the raw materials needed by our secondary industries.

I know that other countries have the same problems, but instead of meat, butter and wool, it may be rubber, copra and coffee. However, in the main, other countries have raw materials which we have not. Yet, in order to give employment to our growing population—we have about the highest birth-rate in the world—and recognizing that it is not possible to absorb all these young people in employment on the land, even if that were desirable, we have established secondary industries for which we must import the raw materials that are to be manufactured into goods. Then, as other members of the Commonwealth have done, we must establish protective tariffs to support those industries. I think that the task of us members of the Commonwealth here and in our own Parliaments is to free tariffs as much as possible, having regard to the needs of our own economy and to our own employment problem.

I believe that it is possible and must be possible within the framework of the Commonwealth organization to work out a policy of Commonwealth preference for the goods that we may sell and for the goods that we are compelled to buy. Within the world generally, as I see it, but especially within our Commonwealth, it is our duty as Members of Parliament to use our efforts and whatever ability we have to better relations in the social field and more particularly in trading, because I am sure that the social aspect will come as a result of trading. We are all sure that we have an important niche to fill in world affairs. We would be unworthy of our trust and unfaithful to succeeding generations if we did not spend ourselves and all our efforts in doing everything we could to bring about a close relationship and friendship in greater trade between the countries that are proud to be a part, great or small, of this our British Commonwealth of Nations.

**Mr. W. T. C. du Plessis, M.P. (*Union of South Africa*):** Mr. Chairman, in listening to the previous speakers, it has struck me that we are dealing with a subject of vast importance, not only to ourselves and our own countries but to the world generally. Economic co-operation is most essential for the balanced development of all Commonwealth countries, and we must approach this subject with an open mind. From outside, it can only be advanced by goodwill and mutual assistance towards each other; internally, by creating the right climate. Goodwill and mutual assistance towards each other should not be too difficult, because we are all members of the Commonwealth and, therefore, all friends. It should be our sincere desire to assist each other with the many problems that may arise. Wherever possible, the economic development of individual Commonwealth countries should be supplemented. I know it is not possible to divide industrial or economic development into areas and to exclude the one from the other. The competitive factor cannot, and must not, be wished away, for it lies at the basis of sound development.

What we must guard against and avoid, however, is that the economic development of individual Commonwealth countries is made possible at the expense of other countries. No country can do without further industrial or economic development. Even the United Kingdom, the most advanced and developed of the Commonwealth countries, has to continue developing and so, in every country, whether it is developed or underdeveloped, progress in development must continue. It is important to bear in mind that the process of development is gradual. There is no short cut to development in any country, and not only capital and equipment are needed for economic development but trained labour, know-how and, above all, stable government.

In my own country, economic development has been sound and steady and, in the last ten years, it has perhaps been much faster than development in other countries. I find one of the reasons for this steady development is the fact that in fifty years of sovereign independence, we have had only six Prime Ministers and, of those, two died in office and one resigned on account of age. That to me is proof that a country must have stable government if it wishes to advance and develop industrially and economically. I am proud to say that nothing has been achieved in South Africa at the expense of other Commonwealth countries and, whatever the world may prefer to believe, I wish to emphasize that whatever has been achieved in the Union of South



Africa has been achieved with the willing co-operation of all sections of the people and to the advantage of all the people in the country.

South Africa has unlimited natural resources, and we have just scratched the surface. For a young country such as South Africa, the industrial development that has taken place may be considered as quite rapid, but it has taken us all of fifty years to reach the stage where we are exporting manufactured goods. We have only just reached the stage where a relatively small percentage of our raw materials is being processed and manufactured. We are exporting to various Commonwealth countries, but we are also importing from Commonwealth countries. South Africa's customs tariffs are amongst the lowest in the world. We are still a party to the 1932 Ottawa trade agreement, in terms of which preferences are given to Commonwealth countries.

The development of the mining industry in South Africa has taken many years, and invaluable experience has been gained in the process. This, and other experience gained in agricultural and industrial development, South Africa is only too willing to share with other Commonwealth countries.

A short while ago Mr. Cheysson, the Secretary-General of the *Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa (C.C.T.A.)*, is reported to have said that the South African Government is one of the most co-operative within the Commission, and is giving a lot of technical assistance to other African countries. It is our policy to endeavour to assist, wherever possible. Commonwealth countries have diverse problems, but each country has experience of one or more of these problems, and it is possible, by co-operation, to assist in the development of individual Commonwealth countries. South Africa, and all countries, have invisible exports, in the form of experiences, skills, knowledge and management ability. A reciprocal attitude of goodwill and good-neighbourliness for future relations and co-operation is essential.

The Commonwealth countries have responsibilities towards each other. We must not stress our differences, but rather stress our points of agreement. We are gathered together to find points of agreement and to assist each other. In this way a spirit of goodwill, co-operation and tolerance can be created which can be commended to the rest of the world. But let me say in conclusion, Mr. Chairman, that economic co-operation does not travel a one-way street; the maintenance of such relations requires two-way traffic.

**Sri V. K. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, M.L.A. (Leader of the Opposition, Madras):** Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates, it is vital to the maintenance of the Commonwealth relationship as it has developed, and to the influence of the Commonwealth in the world, that on all matters of common concern there should be the greatest possible measure of community of view and co-operation in action. This has resulted in the evolution of an elaborate system of consultation and co-operation between the Commonwealth countries. On the one hand, dealing continuously with day-to-day affairs, are the High Commissioners of each member country in the capitals of others, and the Commonwealth Relations Office in London and the Departments of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations in the other capitals. On the other hand, there are the Conferences, held at convenient intervals, of Prime Ministers and of Ministers concerned with particular subjects, such as finance and foreign affairs. Supplementary, in a sense, to the full-scale Conferences are the visits paid by Commonwealth Ministers from one country to another, sometimes for a specific purpose, sometimes just to gain first-hand knowledge of the country visited. Commonwealth Ministers also have an opportunity for discussion when they attend international Conferences such as those of the United Nations or the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

At departmental level, senior civil servants and technical experts visit and consult directly with their opposite numbers in a variety of fields. On such matters as defence and trade, besides the work of the service liaison officers and the Trade Commissioners, there are visits by representatives of one Commonwealth country to another going on all the time. On a wide range of subjects there has been developed a network of committees and standing organizations. Their functions are partly fact-finding and partly advisory. Trade and cultural exhibitions, and conferences and conventions of



judicial, medical, cultural, educational and economic bodies of varying official or unofficial status, held in various parts of the Commonwealth at frequent intervals, all contribute their part in the intricate pattern of Commonwealth consultation.

Commonwealth countries all hold a number of economic objectives in common. They all wish to see rapid economic growth in the world as a whole. They all have a direct stake in the growth of world trade. They are all agreed on close collaboration, both between themselves and with like-minded countries. I wish to emphasize the fact that, so far as economic co-operation is concerned, trade connexions are the most important and potent force binding the Commonwealth countries together.

The policy of economic co-operation within the Commonwealth has been an accepted policy for nearly three decades. In 1932 a Conference was held, for the first time, at Ottawa, which was attended by all the countries of the British Commonwealth of Nations, then styled as British Dominions. India was represented at that Conference, and the result was the Ottawa Agreement. There was a fierce controversy in my country about the benefits accruing to India from this Agreement. It is past history, and I shall not go into the merits of that controversy. There were political considerations partly at least which entered into the debate on this issue, and therefore it is all the more gratifying to note that today an independent India is as much committed to the principle enunciated at the Ottawa Conference as the former Government was. Since 1946, when India became independent, she has, along with other Commonwealth countries, observed the Ottawa Agreement, thereby emphasizing the need and the desirability of the various units of the British Commonwealth co-operating with each other in the economic sphere. In fact, in recent years the nature of this co-operation has been widely extended. What is known as the Colombo Conference, where, in the first instance, the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth countries met to discuss such economic co-operation, was an extension of the spirit of the Ottawa Agreement. In 1951, at the first working meeting of the Colombo Conference, which, incidentally, was held in Sydney, practical measures helping the economic developments of Commonwealth units, particularly those that were underdeveloped, were devised, and steps were taken to give effect to them. Since then, an annual meeting of the Colombo Conference has been held. The original period fixed for the Colombo Plan expires shortly. It will be in the interests of the Commonwealth countries to extend the benefits of the Plan for a further period, say at least five years.

Last year a Conference of the Finance Ministers of the Commonwealth was held in Montreal, which was styled the Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference. Quite recently a Ministerial meeting of the Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council was held in London. At all these meetings the fundamental issue that was raised was how to find more capital for the economic development of some of the Commonwealth countries, and how much of this capital would be coming from the United Kingdom and from other members of the Commonwealth more fortunately placed. The contribution which the Colombo Conference has made to such developments is well known.

The mutual help that has been rendered by and to various units of the Commonwealth has been greatly appreciated. The bonds of union, of understanding and of co-operation among the Commonwealth countries have been vastly strengthened by the decisions that have been arrived at and the measures adopted at these Conferences. Great Britain has shown a keen desire to help other Commonwealth countries in the spirit of co-operation. It is nevertheless true also that with foresight she has realized that she has a direct economic interest in maintaining the flow of capital to such countries, because one of the keys to the growth of world trade is the economic expansion of less developed countries. Britain needs greater opportunities in world markets to sustain her own domestic output at a high level and to raise the standard of living of her own people. It is estimated that over £200 million sterling a year, or over 1 per cent. of its national income, is invested both by government and private authorities in the development of various countries of the Commonwealth. At the Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference in Montreal last year Britain announced a system of Commonwealth Assistance Loans. Some of the Commonwealth



independent countries have also helped each other in a sizeable measure and extended credits of substantial amounts.

Commonwealth countries other than the United Kingdom also trade with each other to a significant extent: in the aggregate, about 15 per cent. of the exports from these countries is marketed in this way, although the proportion varies a good deal in individual cases. Much of this trade is between neighbouring Commonwealth countries; as examples I cite Australia and New Zealand, South Africa and Rhodesia, India, Pakistan and Ceylon, Canada and the West Indies. In some instances a more extensive trade has developed. Thus Australia exports wheat to India and flour to Ceylon and Malaya, while Canada ships forest products to South Africa and Australia; Ceylon and India export tea to a number of Commonwealth countries and Malaya has a market for rubber in Canada, Australia and South Africa which is quite considerable.

The Montreal Conference agreed that development is vital not only to the economic expansion of the Commonwealth but to the whole structure of relationships within the Commonwealth and to the maintenance of democratic institutions. It recognized that rates of economic growth in the Commonwealth vary widely, and the Commonwealth has a collective responsibility to do what it can to promote development in the less developed areas.

This is a pleasing picture of Commonwealth co-operation, which on the one hand deserves acknowledgment and appreciation, and on the other promotion and encouragement. There is, however, a development which has taken place recently which seriously jeopardizes the economic stability of various countries including the Commonwealth units, and which therefore further necessitates and emphasizes co-operation within the Commonwealth. I refer to the European Common Market organization, which some of the Western European countries have formed, and of which due note should be taken by the Commonwealth countries, particularly those which are still dependent on the export of raw materials to Europe for their industrial development. It is obvious that to preserve a balance of trade some of the underdeveloped countries have to export their raw materials or semi-manufactured goods in exchange for the import of plant and machinery for their industrial development. The European Common Market is aimed at sustaining within the group the need for such raw material—that is, as far as possible the countries of the European Common Market scheme would get their raw materials from the existing colonial possessions of some of these countries. Such a development would naturally affect the trade of some at least of the Commonwealth units, and would seriously affect their balance-of-payments position. It is necessary that this development should be carefully watched, and if necessary counter-measures may have to be taken. It is not difficult to visualize the sort of counter-measures that can meet this new challenge. a switching-off of the demand for plant and machinery from the more industrialized countries of Western Europe—members of the European Common Market—to other industrialized countries preferably within the Commonwealth will be a counter-offensive, if one may say so.

It is not intended, nor is it desirable, that such a counter-offensive should be contemplated. It is, therefore, my hope that the countries of the European Common Market will realize that they may not be altogether gainers by the proposal. In any case, their own success will depend largely on the extent to which they moderate their enthusiasm for a Common Market and for self-containment. International trade is a two-way traffic, and any country which forgets this basic fact will ultimately find itself in distress.

Foreign-owned ships which carry cargo from India and other Commonwealth countries must be loaded to at least 50 per cent. of their cargo capacity on their return journey. This practice was adopted in America and many European countries, but is not adopted by the Commonwealth countries in respect to India. In particular, so far as India is concerned, Indian manufactures or, as a matter of fact, manufactures of any country of the Commonwealth must be allowed free entry without any duty being imposed thereon.



The Commonwealth, as we all know, includes a great variety of people at different stages of economic development. All over the world today there is the desire of all for economic improvement, and for raising the standard of living. The idea of the Commonwealth as an abstract concept may be very attractive, but it has to justify itself in the eyes of the people. That justification will not be there so long as there is hunger and misery in large areas of the Commonwealth. I fervently wish that tangible steps will be taken for economic co-operation and co-ordination of needs so that the Commonwealth can really grow into a happy agglomeration of independent and allied nations.

**Hon. Stanley de Zoysa, M.P. (Minister of Finance, Ceylon):** Mr. Chairman, the subject that we are discussing has been described as Commonwealth economic co-operation. The three words "Commonwealth economic co-operation" are pregnant with meaning when we consider the purposes, the scope and the extent and the machinery of the co-operation that we talk of. It is when we consider the purposes that one realizes the importance and significance of the word "Commonwealth" in that phrase.

The Commonwealth is a unique family of nations, bound together by many ties. Perhaps the most important tie is our unshaken and unshakable faith in the democratic parliamentary way of life. We, as the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, are wedded to the ideal of preserving those institutions, and it is therefore that I say that, when we talk of the purpose of our co-operation, this word assumes a singular significance.

The democratic parliamentary way of life which means so much to us can be assailed in the underdeveloped countries of the world by conditions arising from that other concept we have referred to—the economic concept. Economic conditions in the underdeveloped countries of the Commonwealth have proved a challenge to the parliamentary and democratic way of life. The upsurgent masses in many of our countries, who have long lived on the borderline of poverty, demand, and demand urgently, that their standards of life shall be improved. That is the economic problem which poses the political problem as to whether democratic institutions themselves can survive. We have got to satisfy our peoples that through the democratic machinery we can achieve the goals that they are striving for. We have got to satisfy them, further, that we can achieve these goals within a measurable period of time, or else the urgency of their needs will make them turn to other ideologies and other methods of achieving their needs. That is the danger that faces us, and that is why co-operation becomes so urgent and so imperative. The purpose of economic co-operation within the Commonwealth, then, should be the preservation of those democratic institutions on which the Commonwealth rests. If we look at it in that way, Sir, the problem clarifies itself and we see what the scope and the machinery of co-operation should be.

The scope of co-operation should be essentially to assist the underdeveloped countries to develop their economies at a pace and to an extent commensurate with the demands of their respective peoples. It is not sufficient that we should get occasionally a little encouragement here and a little assistance there. Believe me, Sir, I am not being deprecatory about the assistance that we do get. We get a great deal of assistance. We get it in large measure and we are deeply grateful for it. But I do say that we have not yet addressed our minds to this as a real live problem, as a problem that requires our constant watching and our constant endeavour. We must look at it in that way.

Therefore, I say that every effort should be made to make available capital for the underdeveloped countries that need to develop, but more than that, steps must be taken to help the economies of those countries to remain strong and vigorous. I, therefore, welcome the opportunity to reply to the observations made by my colleague from Canada when he talked of competition within the Commonwealth. We must endeavour to avoid such competition. In this respect, Sir, consider the case of my own country. We depend very largely on our rubber exports for our economy. It would be a tragic thing for us if, within the Commonwealth, substitutes for rubber came to be manufactured by some other country in large quantities. Matters like that should be discussed together, considered and examined together, and decided upon



together, if the Commonwealth is to serve any useful purpose and if we are to survive as a Commonwealth.

There is the other question of the stability of the prices of primary products. Our economy rests largely on the export of certain primary products. There are many countries in the Commonwealth similarly placed. There are all kinds of international organizations which seek to protect secondary industries, but there would appear to be no determined effort to set up any kind of machinery to protect those whose economies depend on the prices and the price fluctuations of primary products. This question has been raised many times, Sir, but we do not seem to be getting any further forward with it. The smaller countries such as ours can do very little, because whatever we may determine can be undone by the purchasing countries. It is for the purchasing countries in the Commonwealth to realize the importance of this question and to provide machinery which can make purchasing countries outside the Commonwealth take note of our requirements and of what needs to be done for us. In this way only can Commonwealth economic co-operation become real and effective.

I appeal to my colleagues here to carry back to their countries the thought that, if democracy itself is to survive, the machinery for economic co-operation within the Commonwealth must be high powered, efficient, geared to the needs of the situation, and constantly working.

**Hon. A. Casely-Hayford, M.P. (Ghana):** Mr. Chairman and fellow Association Members, my friend from Ceylon who has just addressed us ably touched upon the need for an organization that would meet not merely for the sake of debating, such as our organization, which is not able to take decisions that are in any way binding on our respective countries, does even in relation to important matters such as trade and economics. It may be that, in time, we shall come to invest ourselves with such powers as may be necessary, either in terms of a Commonwealth Parliament, or in terms merely of an association such as this, to call members of the Commonwealth together for serious consideration of economic problems. I think that the word "co-operate" connotes two things. First, the "operate" part means that somebody is to operate or to bring something into being or to do something; secondly, the "co" part of the word means that there is to be someone to assist the person who is anxious to operate or provide the raw materials required for the operation.

The Commonwealth generally is considered to be divided into two groups, namely, the developed territories and the underdeveloped territories. I venture to suggest that those of us who belong to countries such as Ghana are, at this stage at any rate, generally regarded as belonging to the underdeveloped territories which can only offer the facilities that are necessary for the investment of capital by the other more fortunate members of the Commonwealth which can be rightly grouped under the heading of developed territories. In the contribution that I essay to make on behalf of Ghana, I desire to bring to your notice the various provisions that we in Ghana afford for the investment of capital, and the avenues through which investment may be attracted from other Commonwealth countries. We have, for example, a "tax holiday", like many other countries, so that those freshly investing capital may be free of certain income tax regulations. This is known as the "pioneer companies relief". Companies that are afforded pioneer status by the Ghana Government are afforded relief from income tax until such time, whenever that may be, as the initial investment has been recovered in full. To other companies desiring to set up local industries, a special status is afforded. Refund is made to them of duty that they pay on all imported raw materials.

The policy of the Government is to encourage the industrialization of the country. The Government is always ready to discuss with a firm or investor any sound project for development, and is ready also to negotiate suitable terms for such an undertaking. It is also ready to negotiate and make reasonable arrangements with institutions or individuals who put forward sound propositions which may be beneficial to Ghana's industrial progress. Ghana needs loans and investment from abroad. I wish to bring to the notice of Delegates that if our fellow Commonwealth countries are not sufficiently alive to the need to invest in countries such as ours, out of dire necessity



we shall be compelled to accept capital from wherever it comes, to the detriment of our fellow Commonwealth countries.

It is suggested that a closer study of our local trade requirements is needed. It is felt, for example, that enough attention is not given to the particular requirements of areas such as ours. Motor cars are built in plenty all over the world, but there is still a need to study in more detail the types of vehicle that are actually needed in a country such as ours. We are a people that have to be studied, in that our trade needs are highly specialized. To give a typical example, certain types of Dutch prints, such as wax prints, are highly favoured, and some of our native women are so particular that, in order to get the feel of the material, and see whether it is a real Dutch print or not, they actually bite at it. I give you this example merely to show that the various markets have to be very carefully studied.

Another example is the container in which the breakfast egg is rested. It is made to a standard size throughout the world, though it is well known that in tropical and other countries such as ours, the average egg is much smaller than elsewhere. Naturally, our egg goes right through the container and collapses underneath. I mention that, for want of a better example, to illustrate the important little niceties of trade to which attention must be paid in the study of our markets. These are some of the particular aspects of trade to which attention must be directed.

I agree with our colleague, the representative of Canada, who was supported by other speakers, in emphasizing the necessity for guarding against unnecessary competition amongst ourselves. We in Ghana, for example, are the biggest cocoa producers in the world. It is our lifeblood, and you can well believe that it is a matter of some concern to us when something is done to endanger our position. To a certain extent we are safe in that we produce in bulk and do not specialize in a particular type such as may be required by some countries which may wish, by mixing, to obtain a certain aroma or quality. We produce in bulk but, nevertheless, it is a matter for some alarm when other countries in the Commonwealth go all out in trying to oust us from the marketing of this commodity, which is our lifeblood—more so when, instead of being another competing underdeveloped country, it is one that is very highly developed, yet insists on starting up a new industry and thereby throttling the very lifeblood of a struggling underdeveloped Commonwealth country. Moreover, very often neighbouring territories go all out in waging a war of competition against one another.

I venture to suggest that much could be done through co-operation if such Conferences as this were concerned with economic problems. It would be possible to end competition between neighbouring Commonwealth territories by bringing them together and producing a solution which would be to their mutual benefit. Ghana and Sierra Leone, for example, produce bananas, each of a different type. It might be possible by agreement to arrange for the production of one type which would travel much more easily. The moment you put a certain type of banana, such as Gros Michel, inside a fruit chamber on board a ship, you cannot open the chamber again until the fruit reaches its destination, and so it is impossible to include a different species in the same chamber at a subsequent port. These are some of the things to which we have to direct our attention in trying to bring the various countries of the Commonwealth together.

Mr. Harold Holt has pointed out, in referring to the question of capital for development, that capital will only find its way to places where it is expected, and where it will be safe. Without such guarantees, capital is not likely to be invested.

I would suggest again the formation of a Commonwealth preferential market, so as to encourage the marketing of the products of primary producing countries. It would be one of the solutions that we seek.

I would also suggest the distribution of surplus raw materials to the less developed countries. It is my ardent hope, therefore, that as time goes on, even if it is not possible in other fields to co-operate and try to solve some of these problems by discussing them and giving each other practical help, that at least on this all-important matter of economic co-operation in the Commonwealth it will be possible. It may well be



that this will be the type of co-operation that we shall be able to start with, when the time comes for us to get together and help solve our common problems.

**Hon. Dato' Ong Yoke Lin, M.P. (Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, *Federation of Malaya*):** Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates, the ties that hold the members of a Commonwealth together reach to every part of the world and unite countries of almost every race, and at almost every stage of development. The economic problems of the members of the Commonwealth reflect the great differences in economic advancement, but Commonwealth countries depend upon each other in that progress of each is affected, in greater or lesser degree, by the prosperity of the others.

Commonwealth countries all hold a number of economic objectives in common, since this is a condition for our own betterment. We are all directly concerned with the growth of world trade. We are all concerned that sterling should be strong and, as we collaborate among ourselves, we recognize the need to work together with others in the international organizations and elsewhere in our efforts to foster economic growth, expand world trade, strengthen international finance machinery, and accelerate the economic advancement of less developed countries. I am sure we all believe in the saying: "Poverty anywhere is a threat to prosperity everywhere".

The Federation of Malaya, although a small country, contributes to the economic well-being of the Commonwealth and the Sterling Area in many ways. Somewhere between one-quarter and one-third of the free world's output of natural rubber and tin is derived from the Commonwealth, and Malaya is the largest Commonwealth producer of both, being responsible for approximately 70 per cent. and 76.2 per cent. of the Commonwealth output of natural rubber and tin respectively. We are also the largest producer in the world of these two commodities. In 1958 our output of natural rubber was over 664,000 long tons, compared with a world output of about 1,955,000 tons. Our output of tin was about 40,000 long tons, compared with a world output of about 135,000 tons. In the case of tin, however, our capacity to produce was deliberately restrained by the operation of the International Tin Buffer Stock Scheme.

The value of our exports of rubber and tin to the Commonwealth is twofold. Large tonnages of both are exported directly to Commonwealth countries, and thus we feel that we are contributing to the industrial strength of the Commonwealth. But, over and above this, large tonnages are sold to the Dollar Area, thus adding to the foreign currency earnings of the Sterling Area as a whole. Malaya has made a further contribution to the strength of the Sterling Area and the Commonwealth by her large surplus on balance-of-payment account with the Dollar Area. Over the past ten years, on visible trade account alone, Malaya has earned, net, something of the order of 6,000 million Malayan dollars, or roughly £700 million sterling, for the dollar reserves of the Sterling Area.

Dependent as it is to such an extent on the export of rubber and tin, the Malayan Government has always been interested in schemes which would reduce the wide fluctuations in prices which are common in commodity markets—this subject has been referred to by many previous speakers. Malaya has also made a proposal that the articles of the International Monetary Fund be widened to permit the Fund's resources to be used to support sound international commodity stabilization schemes. We attach importance to this, because experience with tin and tin restriction has shown that the sums required to finance an international buffer stock scheme are so large as to strain the resources of all but the largest and richest countries.

We in Malaya grant more preferences to other Commonwealth countries than we receive, not only in terms of the number of tariff items, but also in respect of preferential margins, which often are higher than those specified in the Ottawa Agreement. We apply the Commonwealth preference to imports from all Commonwealth countries without distinction, and the conditions in respect of Commonwealth content and origin for the entitlement of these preferences are very liberal—probably the most liberal in the Commonwealth. On our part, we receive no preferential treatment for our most important exports—rubber and tin—and even the various preferences that we have been receiving have often been reduced or modified over recent years.



In this connexion, Sir, I should like to mention that we are glad that the first trade agreement which we have negotiated with Commonwealth countries since our independence was with the Commonwealth of Australia. We hope that this agreement will lead to a general increase in trade between the Federation of Malaya and Australia and, in particular, that it will help to foster the expansion of the Federation's export of rubber to Australia, on the one hand, and to strengthen Australia's interests in the wheat-flour market in the Federation on the other. Incidentally, the Commonwealth of Australia has been having a favourable balance of trade with us.

But, although trade—and particularly, in the context of the present meeting, inter-Commonwealth trade—is an important factor contributing to the prosperity of Commonwealth countries, there can be no doubt that most of our problems can be summed up in one phrase—the need to accelerate the rate of economic development. For the Commonwealth, this means working together to find ways and means of helping each other to accelerate the rates of investment in our respective economies, to improve productive techniques, to diversify our output and to raise standards of living.

The Colombo Plan has proved a valuable agency to this end in Malaya, because, by helping us to train our young men and women in the various technical fields, and by supplying us with various exports to initiate various schemes, it is making it all the more easy for rapid economic and social development to become a reality in Malaya. Since the inception of the Plan we have been provided with 108 experts, and 624 of our people have been sent abroad for training. For all this assistance we are most grateful.

But, in addition to the help that we have received under the Colombo Plan, which we are glad to be able to reciprocate to a small extent and which we hope to reciprocate to a larger extent in the future, we have massive needs for capital investment. Like most other underdeveloped countries, we need to welcome all kinds of investment, provided it is directed in a sound manner to meet the national needs. By this, I mean that we welcome facilities for direct government-to-government loans within the Commonwealth, for institutional loans and, last but not least, for investment by private enterprise.

Representatives of the Government of the Federation of Malaya have taken an active part in the discussion, at Commonwealth Conferences, of the possibility of establishing a Commonwealth Development Bank. For reasons of which we all are aware, this project has given way to the more ambitious and comprehensive project, recently approved in Washington, for the establishment of an International Development Association. This idea was warmly supported by Malaya.

On the subject of private investment, Sir, our Prime Minister has already indicated the willingness of our Government to participate in any negotiations which may lead to an international charter regulating the treatment of international private investment. On our own initiative we have already taken steps to ensure that private investors in our country shall, generally speaking, be able regularly to remit dividends out of their earnings and repatriate capital investment. We have recently introduced pioneer industry legislation. We have established a tariff advisory committee to advise the Government on tariff protection and other tariff concessions applied for in connexion with industrial development policy at all levels.

I am sure that investors from Commonwealth countries who have come to Malaya will confirm that they have received a genuine welcome in our country. On our part, we expect investors to play a constructive part in the development of our country and in training our people for technical and administrative posts.

**Mr. T. S. Johnson, M.H.R. (*Sierra Leone*):** Mr. Chairman, distinguished Delegates, on behalf of the people of Sierra Leone, the House of Representatives of that country, and myself, I want to say how delighted I am to have the privilege of participating in this historic Conference after travelling long distances by air to Canberra, including touring and also enjoying some of Australia's bounties.



Mr. Chairman, the relationship that exists within the Commonwealth to my mind is more economic than political. Thus, the Commonwealth is synonymous with the Sterling Area, which is an economic bloc within the Commonwealth, and exists to foster monetary and commercial co-operation within the bloc. Therefore, when we think about economic co-operation within the Commonwealth, we must not forget to give full consideration to the peculiar make-up of the Commonwealth. Canada, although within the Commonwealth, is not within the Sterling Area, whereas a few countries outside the Commonwealth, including the Republic of Ireland, Burma and Jordan, are within the Sterling Area.

The modern tendency of nations is to integrate into economic blocs, such as the Dollar Area and the Sterling Area. The primary aim of such blocs is to promote economic co-operation so as to maintain stability of the economy within the blocs. The Commonwealth, in view of the modern tendency for economic co-operation, will stand to maintain its prestige and its political relationship more strongly if all countries within the Commonwealth can have a common pool. There are, however, some problems and difficulties that confront such co-operation. The most outstanding is the problem of currency. This arises from the fact that some countries of the Commonwealth, such as Canada, are within the Dollar Area whereas others are in the Sterling Area. The circulation of different currencies within the Commonwealth creates the problem of currency exchange with all its limitations. This eventually affects the payments of member countries. Such a condition necessitates exchange control, and the transfer of capital becomes more difficult and tends to retard the growth of free trade within the Commonwealth.

The new drive, since last December, towards convertibility should be commended, as it will enable countries such as Canada within the Dollar Area to trade freely with other members of the Commonwealth. However, more drive towards full convertibility is still desirable if economic co-operation is to be fully stabilized within the Commonwealth.

Other problems are those connected with the economic stages of the underdeveloped areas within the Commonwealth. In those countries, namely the newly independent countries and the colonial territories with but few exceptions, there is still a lack of stability in their economy. This is due to the fact that the resources are yet untapped, the countries are still poor and cannot finance every project in the march towards industrialization. Moreover, there are no adequate statistical collections which give a view of the type of investments adequate to such economy. Capitalists are sceptical of investing in these underdeveloped areas, as productivity may not fully justify the investment. There is, therefore, the problem of deciding how best to attract foreign capital into these underdeveloped areas.

There are still some political problems. These arise from the mistaken ideas of foreign capitalists, who doubt whether newly independent countries can maintain a stable government, or are apprehensive that industries when financed may be nationalized as the country achieves independence. In such cases capitalists are wont to guard against risky investments. However, this difficulty can be avoided only if the more developed members of the Commonwealth can stand ready to guarantee such underdeveloped countries, more especially, to the World Bank, as obtained when Great Britain secured for one country in West Africa a loan of £10 million.

Despite the difficulties and the problems that beset such economic co-operation, all members of the Commonwealth stand to benefit therefrom. Such measures will not only lead to greater friendship and closer relationship within the Commonwealth, but will also advance its prestige. It is only through careful economic co-operation that the advanced members can help the underdeveloped areas to strengthen their national economies by the development of their industries and agriculture. Increased capital investments into these areas will enable their resources to be fully tapped and employed. Specialization of industry will increase in these areas, and so will productivity. Increased productivity will raise the national income of such countries, and consequently their standard of living will be raised appreciably. Developed areas of the Commonwealth will also stand to gain as new avenues for investment are tapped,



thereby avoiding the problem of funds remaining idle or being invested in less productive concerns. Moreover, increased economic developments in the underdeveloped areas will open new markets to developed areas.

Economic co-operation no doubt will increase trade within the Commonwealth, and all countries will stand to gain. The supply of an adequate number of technical experts will help in the promotion of agricultural industries which are, at the moment, based on a subsistence level. It should be the responsibility of all countries within the Commonwealth, therefore, to explore all avenues of achieving economic co-operation, as can be accelerated by increase in trade within all members of the Commonwealth. Thus economic co-operation, when fully achieved within the Commonwealth, would be the most powerful unifying factor in relation to the Commonwealth countries.

**Colonel Douglas Glover, M.P. (United Kingdom):** Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is a great honour, I feel, to be able to speak in this Commonwealth Conference on this important subject this afternoon. I am rather glad to be speaking from a position in this chamber close to that from which that great man, the Prime Minister of Australia, usually speaks. He spoke last night about nationalism, centrifugal force, and the dividing forces that exist in the world today. If I were asked to sum up the debate that has gone on here this afternoon, I should say that all those forces are at work in this Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. It is true that throughout the whole Commonwealth nationalism has grown and expanded and nations have proudly taken their place as full, free and independent members of the Commonwealth. Mr. Casely-Hayford of Ghana has referred to the need for co-operation and we had a thought-provoking speech from the Delegate from the Federation of Malaya, who said that there was a strong desire for certain powers to exist collectively in the Commonwealth to enable some of the problems that confront us to be overcome. Of course, it is not our place this afternoon to reach a final conclusion on those matters, but it seems to me that in a world which every day gets smaller and smaller, so many of the problems are too big for any one country to handle, and therefore we should consider whether the machinery within the Commonwealth today is sufficient to deal with the problems with which the Commonwealth is faced. I think we should take back to our Governments a message from this Conference. We should tell our Governments that the Commonwealth is much more prepared today to consider sitting round the table and producing the machinery to deal with the various problems with which we are confronted than it was even ten short years ago.

I should like to deal now with commodity prices. I am sure it would be a good thing if we could get stability for commodity prices in the world at large. It is not, however, a matter that the Commonwealth itself can solve; it is a world problem, but, at least, if the Commonwealth Governments were able to put forward—and co-operation comes in here again—a scheme for ironing out the peaks and hollows of commodity prices, we with our strong collective trading position in the world would, I am sure, exert a tremendous influence in bringing about such price stability.

I know there are many nations who say it would be impossible to get commodity price stability. All I would say is that in the United States of America they have support prices for many of their commodities for internal consumption. We in Britain have guaranteed prices for certain commodities for internal consumption. It does not seem to me that it would be beyond the wit of man to evolve similar machinery on the international level which would remove these very steep hills and hollows which upset the trading of so many of the primary producing countries.

I come now to capital investment. I was glad to hear Mr. Harold Holt point out at the beginning of this debate that the only net exporter of capital in the British Commonwealth was the United Kingdom. Because capital investment is vital and we must do everything we can on an international basis throughout the world to keep capital flowing freely, I was glad to hear this afternoon that there is an increased realization that, just as the holiday resort that presents the best attractions gets the most visitors, so does the country that welcomes capital with the surest safeguards for its future offer the most attraction to the investor. I do hope that that realization will grow throughout the whole of the Commonwealth.



It must be remembered that this capital investment which is talked about so freely is a human investment not only at the receiving end but also at the departing end. We in Britain today are investing between 1 per cent. and 2 per cent. of the whole of our national product in the Commonwealth. Although it is very hard to get a proper mental picture of the position, it is true that to say that we could find additional capital with ease would seem strange indeed to quite a percentage of the population of Britain itself. We have our problems of social development and welfare, and our own people are rightly putting considerable pressure on the Government of the day to ease their conditions. Further, it must be appreciated that you cannot export capital which has not been earned; so any future organization for mutual expansion of trade within the Commonwealth means that we would have more exportable capital for investment for the benefit of each and all of the nations in the Commonwealth as a whole.

That again brings me to the fact that we must have the machinery for co-operation. I say quite bluntly that I believe we are frightened of tackling the issues that confront us today. I hope we will go back and tell our Governments that there is a feeling abroad that we could be more closely linked together economically to tackle the problems that confront us in the future and we would like them to explore the ground and see what real steps are necessary to achieve that objective.

**The Chairman:** That completes my list of speakers for this afternoon. The matter is now open for discussion. Anyone who wishes to speak may do so for ten minutes.

**Shri Raghunath Singh, M.P. (India):** I wish to speak about shipping in the Commonwealth and first refer to the decline in our position. In 1939 the Commonwealth had 15 million tons of the world's shipping. In 1958 we had only 22 million tons of the world's shipping, which means that in twenty years we have progressed only slightly. America on the other hand had only 8 million tons of the world's shipping in 1939, whereas now she has 23 million tons. Within twenty years, as we can see, our position has declined. In 1939 we enjoyed 27.5 per cent. of the world's shipping tonnage, whereas today we have only 15.5 per cent. of that tonnage. If we go on in this way our percentage of the world's tonnage in shipping will drop to only 10 per cent. or perhaps even nil, and we shall lose the trade of the world. Within the Commonwealth countries only two have any percentage of the world's shipping. They are the United Kingdom and India. Canada has some, but the United Kingdom has the greatest percentage and India has the second place.

Outside the Commonwealth, Japan has the greatest percentage of the Asian countries. We should look closely to see the reason why our share of this trade has fallen. We should look for the reason why the Commonwealth, which at one time enjoyed 80 per cent. of the world's shipping tonnage, has dropped to such a small percentage as 16 in only thirty years. First, we should look to the shipbuilding industry. I have seen some of the shipyards for myself. I know that, where Japan had no shipbuilding yards in 1947, she now has fourteen. West Germany, which had no shipbuilding yards at the termination of the war, now has seven good shipyards. Italy, which had no shipyards at the end of the war, is now second to West Germany. The shipbuilding position now is that Japan ranks first, West Germany second, Italy third. The United Kingdom comes nowhere in this industry now. The Netherlands and Sweden have also come into shipbuilding.

I repeat that we should look for the reasons for this change in the position. The first is that there is no co-operation between Commonwealth countries as far as shipping is concerned. Although the populations and resources of Honduras, Liberia, Panama and Greece are not great, people who are looking to invest their capital in shipping are turning to those countries. People who want to make money from shipping register their ships in Panama, Honduras, Liberia, and Greece. They pay no income tax, no union fees, and have no labour law to observe. Then, what happens? All the countries utilize the services of these ships because their freights are cheap. Are we going to support Panama, Honduras, and Liberia? If we support them, then we are going to lose, because in the world markets we cannot compete.



We are also competing with Japan. Pakistan is a Commonwealth country. Japan has started a shipping line with the co-operation of Pakistan, a second line with the co-operation of Persia in the Persian Gulf and perhaps a third with Indonesia. If Japan is coming like this, where will India, the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth stand? Why are we not entering this shipping trade? My submission is that in shipping we should stand together. We should put our minds together and see that the Commonwealth, which was leading the world in shipping, regains that position. How can that be done? It can be done in two ways, but we must hurry. I am unable to understand why we are not following the policy of America. The United States of America insists on a 50 per cent. return loading. I fail to understand why the United Kingdom is not following this policy.

India has shipping to the tonnage of nearly 1 million tons after completion of the Second Plan. We are getting help from Japan. Japan has sold eight good ships to the Philippines. We have to get our ships from outside. We have only one shipyard and we are constructing another. We have kept the price of our ships constructed in our shipyards in line with United Kingdom prices, because we are in the Commonwealth. We fixed our prices in accordance with prices in the United Kingdom, because we wanted no competition between India and the United Kingdom. But what happened? We found that our shipyards had no contracts. Indian shipping companies placed their orders for ships in West Germany, Italy and Japan. A capitalist is a capitalist and a trader is a trader, Sir.

I want to suggest a very simple solution. If we want to live in shipping, we must have a common shipping policy. Many countries have adopted a policy which is helping the shipping industry indirectly. The money invested in shipping is not chargeable for income tax. There is a chain of banks that advances money at 1½ per cent. interest, repayable in seven years. No duty is being charged on the materials utilized for the construction of shipping. These are some of the matters which led Japan, Germany, and Italy to develop their shipping.

Who will buy our ships? Nobody will buy them. Our ships are bound to be dear; the shipping of the United Kingdom is failing and therefore as a Commonwealth country we are bound to fail. Therefore, in the interests of the United Kingdom and of India, this assembly should appoint a sub-committee to examine the matter of shipping. This is a question of life and death. The communication of Asia and Australia with the rest of the world is by shipping. There is no railway line to connect Australia with Asia. The cargo will not be handled by aeroplane for Asia, Canada and India. Transportation of heavy goods can be done only by shipping. We should appoint a sub-committee to find a means of ensuring that our shipping does not fail. If our shipping fails, we fail. Shipping is the second line of defence. Let us remember that.

Commonwealth countries are spread all over the world. How are we to conduct our exports and imports when so much of the world's shipping is registered in Panama, Honduras, Greece and Liberia? Mr. Harold Holt said that Commonwealth countries account for nearly 25 per cent. of the world's trade. Therefore, with great humility, I ask why should we not have 25 per cent. of the world's shipping? If we export and import our goods by using foreign shipping, we give to a foreign country, a non-Commonwealth country, money obtained from poor people. As a Commonwealth, we should stand on our own feet. We should be ashamed of ourselves if we wait to do so. The Australian Prime Minister said yesterday that we should be self-sufficient. If we are to be self-sufficient, we must be self-sufficient in shipping also. Shipping is very important for the protection of civilization, communication and defence. With effective transportation we can take civilization to all the shores of the world. The Commonwealth has a good history in shipping and we should not forget that. If we fail to do so, the coming generation will say of us, "They met in Canberra, but they did not decide anything for the protection of shipping". May I emphasize, Sir, again that shipping is vital to the interests of the Commonwealth.

*The Conference then adjourned.*



## ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION WITHIN THE COMMONWEALTH (*Contd.*)

The discussion on "Economic Co-operation within the Commonwealth" was resumed at the Second Session of the Conference, which began at 9.30 a.m. on Wednesday, 4th November.

The Session was opened by the Rt. Hon. Lord Mills, K.B.E., Paymaster-General, United Kingdom. The Chair was taken by the Chairman of the Council, Senator the Hon. Sir Alister McMullin, K.C.M.G.

**Rt. Hon. Lord Mills, K.B.E.:** Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates, I think I should start by expressing the regrets of my colleague, the Rt. Hon. John Hare, our Minister of Agriculture, who was to be here instead of me. He is busy attending his flowers or his flocks, of course, in Parliament, and he is very sorry not to be with you.

We had a very good Session yesterday, I thought, and I was particularly struck by two short phrases. The first was by Mr. Harold Holt, who said that trade, development and economic stability go hand in hand, and the other was by the Minister of Labour and Social Welfare of Malaya, who said that poverty anywhere is a threat to prosperity everywhere. I should like to add a third phrase—the Commonwealth is part of the world as a whole.

To debate the problems of the Commonwealth alone, in a vacuum as it were, would be a meaningless exercise. I think, therefore, that we should have a quick look at the world economic situation. As we consider each topic that arises, we have to bear in mind the impact of forces from outside the Commonwealth. Much of the most important and valuable work of economic co-operation in the Commonwealth is, in fact, concerned with how to deal with these outside forces. We are witnessing now both the strengthening of the economics of industrialized countries and the continuing, perhaps even increasing, difficulties of the less developed countries in achieving a satisfactory rate of economic growth. The strengthened position of the industrialized countries has been shown both by the fact that the economically more vulnerable ones have increased their reserves and by the relatively small effects on their economies of the recession of 1957–58—I underline the word "relatively". Adjustments were necessary, but they were not so drastic as was at one time feared, and the expansion began again sooner than was at one time contemplated. The maintenance of American purchases at that time from other industrialized countries, not least the United Kingdom, even at the expense of the balance of payments of the United States, was an important factor. Many difficulties confront the less developed countries.

There, then, is the general background—the industrialized countries going forward, the less developed countries having great difficulty in maintaining their economic growth. The Commonwealth includes some of each group. But whether industrialized or not, the Commonwealth countries all share in the same problems, because their economic interests are so tied together that the progress of each is affected by the prosperity of the others. For all of us, and certainly for the United Kingdom, economic growth is essential to our own chances of higher standards. At the Economic Conference in Montreal last year, the Commonwealth representatives agreed that the theme that had run through their discussions was an expanding Commonwealth in an expanding world. The Commonwealth countries, then, with all their very varied circumstances and their interests and obligations in affairs outside the Commonwealth, have a real and most important basis for co-operation with each other. The fact that there is a wide variation in their circumstances makes their co-operation more valuable and more fruitful. On the one hand, their economies are to a great extent complementary with one another; on the other hand, their different experiences and special fields of knowledge enable them to reach together a well-informed consensus of opinion on the world-wide problems with which we are all confronted.

I want today to pick out some specific fields in which this co-operation takes place. The fields to which I shall refer are sterling, development and investment problems, the Colombo Plan, general expansion of trade, and especially the position in Europe and the problem of trade in commodities.

Sterling has gone through some difficult times within the recent memory of all



of us. To meet these difficulties, all the members of the Sterling Area joined in exercising great self-restraint in order to preserve sterling as an international currency, by means of which much of the trade of the Commonwealth and of the whole world is carried on. Without that self-restraint the job could not have been done, and now that sterling is stronger we should, I think, Mr. Chairman, record our appreciation of the actions taken to make it so. At one meeting after another the responsible Ministers from the Commonwealth countries emphasized the importance of strengthening sterling and they put these precepts into practice, too. As a result of our actions we have been able to make substantial progress towards complete sterling convertibility. Similarly, we have progressively removed discriminatory restraints on trade, and we intend to go on with these steps as fast as possible. In fact, I think an announcement was made this morning that a whole range of goods was now to be freely admitted.

I now come to the questions of development and investment. As the Montreal Conference noted in its report last year, there is a general shortage of capital in the world because technological advances have increased the demands for capital, even in the highly industrialized countries. To put it baldly, if we diverted all our available resources to less developed countries, we should fall so far behind other industrialized countries that we would soon have nothing to invest in our country or abroad. No one, of course, suggests that we should go to that extreme, but there is a very real competition between all the claimants for capital. We in the United Kingdom accept the proposition that it would be disastrously selfish and short-sighted of us to fail to do all we can to assist the less developed countries to make progress.

In the first place, we recognize fully the truth of the statement in the 1958 Montreal report that it is essential to increase the overseas earnings of the underdeveloped members of the Commonwealth from trade, in order that they may be able to finance a greater proportion of their development programmes. We accept the Montreal report's statement that to make savings available for investment depends, to an important extent, on the pursuit of sound fiscal and monetary policies. We have been pursuing them, and I claim that we have had considerable success.

How is our development assistance being given? What are the steps which the United Kingdom has taken, and will be taking, to make funds available for development within the Commonwealth? With the exception of the United Kingdom, all Commonwealth countries and dependent territories need more development capital than they can provide by their own internal savings. The United Kingdom at present is the only net exporter of capital in the Commonwealth, in the form both of private investment and grants to Commonwealth and colonial Governments.

Private capital made available for investment flows through three main channels. There is, first, direct private investment, which includes the transfer of new funds by United Kingdom firms to their enterprises in Commonwealth countries, the reinvestment of profits earned by these enterprises and the direct export of equipment from the United Kingdom. Next, there are funds raised in the London market. Official consent is required for all overseas issues on the London market, whether by public authorities or by private companies. In practice, since the war access to the market has been almost exclusively confined to Government borrowers in the sterling Commonwealth.

Thirdly, there is the Commonwealth Development Finance Company. This Company was established in 1953 to channel funds into Commonwealth development schemes likely to strengthen the external position of the Sterling Area and, in particular, those schemes, mainly undertaken by private concerns, for which sufficient funds cannot be obtained from normal sources. The Company has invested in a wide range of enterprises, including pulp and paper in New Zealand, electrical power in Malaya, timber in Swaziland, steel and electrical power in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and oxygen in India. Its capital is subscribed by a large number of United Kingdom business firms, by the Bank of England, and, I am glad to say, by subscribers in other Commonwealth countries. The capital of the Company is now £26 million and it may borrow for re-lending up to twice that amount.

Public funds are also made available in three main ways. There are, first, government-to-government loans and grants. A large part of the funds flowing directly



from the United Kingdom to the Commonwealth is made available as grants under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts. This supplements the money raised by colonial Governments on the London market or within their own territories and is spent on a wide variety of projects including education, roads, agriculture, fisheries, forestry, housing, water supplies and health services.

Secondly, there is the Colonial Development Corporation, which was set up in 1948 to assist development projects. These projects cover a wide field, from electricity, water supplies, agriculture and mining, to houses and hotels. The Corporation is run on commercial lines. It has extensive commitments in colonial territories and has brought into being many useful enterprises that would not have otherwise been started.

Then there are the releases of the United Kingdom subscription to the World Bank. We have been able to accelerate the rate of these, and by 1st January next the Bank will have had the use of the whole of our original £83,600,000 subscription for lending to the sterling Commonwealth. Nearly £60 million has so far been lent on such projects as steel works in India, power stations in Pakistan and railways in South Africa and Nigeria. The decision to double the Bank's capital was a good one.

We have accepted in principle the proposal to set up an International Development Association, and have announced that we will subscribe 14 per cent. of its capital, that is, 140 million dollars. The main purpose of the International Development Association would be to increase the amount of development capital available to underdeveloped countries.

The total of the United Kingdom private investment in the Commonwealth as a whole in recent years has been about £150 million a year, and public investment has averaged £88 million a year, making a total of private and public investment of about £240 million a year. But our outgoings to overseas countries and territories from public funds, including those channelled through the International Bank, went up by one-third in the last financial year, and will be up again this year.

An important feature is the tendency for the supply of government funds to increase. At the Montreal Conference last year the United Kingdom announced the introduction of a system of Commonwealth assistance loans for independent Commonwealth countries. These loans are made under authority already available in the Export Guarantee Act, at the rate of interest at which the United Kingdom itself borrows, plus a management charge. For the Colonies there are Exchequer loans at the same rates, to make good any shortfall in finance which cannot be raised on the market.

The aim of the Commonwealth assistance loans is to aid the less developed countries and those becoming self-governing. Under these arrangements the United Kingdom has already agreed to make loans of £28½ million to India, £10 million to Pakistan and £12 million to Nigeria after that country gains independence. It has also agreed to exchequer loans of £3 million to Nigeria before independence, and has undertaken to make available £4 million to British Guiana.

I should like to give you some specific illustrations of schemes for which funds have been made available. At Durgapur in India, on the recommendation of a 1955 Colombo Plan mission from the United Kingdom, there is being established a big new steelworks which is estimated to cost a total of £104 million, of which £58 million will be the external cost. Towards this sum the United Kingdom Government has agreed to contribute a loan of £15 million and, through a consortium of British banks, is putting up a further £11½ million. Those works should be in production before very long.

In Pakistan the Sui Gas Transmission Company has been set up to exploit the rich resources of natural gas at Sui in Baluchistan. Towards the cost of this undertaking the World Bank has made available a loan of £5 million drawn from the United Kingdom subscription. The Commonwealth Development Finance Company has provided £1 million and private enterprise a further £1 million. Again, there is the example of the great Kariba hydroelectric project in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Towards the estimated cost of £80 million the World Bank has made a



loan of £28,600,000, of which £10 million comes from the United Kingdom subscription. The Colonial Development Corporation has provided £15 million and the Commonwealth Development Finance Company £3 million. In addition, private investors, including the copper companies of Northern Rhodesia, banks and the British South Africa Company, have provided a further £28 million.

I mentioned just now that the steelworks in India was planned on the recommendation of a Colombo Plan mission. That serves also to illustrate the importance of the Colombo Plan, whose annual meeting is now being held a little way north of us here, in Indonesia, and which will shortly celebrate its tenth birthday. This great Plan was, of course, entirely a Commonwealth initiative, and we have all been delighted to welcome the non-Commonwealth members that have joined—the United States of America, Japan, and all the countries in South-east Asia. Its success has been due in a large measure to the informality and the lack of rigidity which its Commonwealth origin and membership have made it possible to maintain. Up to June, 1959, the United Kingdom had contributed, under the Colombo Plan Technical Co-operation Scheme, £4,750,000 out of a total of nearly £18 million spent by all contributing countries since the Plan started. At last year's Colombo Plan meeting we announced that, in the seven-year period up to 1963, our contribution would be increased by £2 million to a total of £9 million. Most of our help under the Plan has gone to Commonwealth countries.

We give this help in three ways—by giving equipment for training and research, by providing training in the United Kingdom, and by sending experts to serve in the recipient countries. By June last over 2,000 trainees had completed their courses in the United Kingdom and over 500 were still in training. There was hardly a field that was not covered among these courses—even taxation!

I turn now to the prospects of a general expansion of trade. The 1957–58 recession is over and economic expansion is under way again in the manufacturing countries. This should mean in general a larger demand for exports from the primary producing countries, and some increase in the prices of raw materials. World exports have recovered strongly and Commonwealth countries have shared in this recovery. In the second quarter of this year world exports were substantially higher both in value and volume than in the first quarter of this year, and also higher than they were in the second quarter of 1958. United Kingdom exports rose in line with the world increase. Exports from the rest of the Commonwealth recovered even more, though admittedly from low levels. Their imports, however, did not show so great an increase; no doubt some Commonwealth countries are understandably using some of their increased earnings to replenish their reserves. There has been a modest recovery in commodity prices. Production in the United Kingdom is increasing and we are importing more raw materials from the Commonwealth.

Parallel with the general recovery some important steps have been taken towards removing restrictions that still hamper world trade. The process of removing restrictions on dollar purchases has gone ahead in Commonwealth countries. The future prospects for the expansion of trade within and without the Commonwealth seem encouraging.

At this point I want, if I may, Mr Chairman, to say something about the special position in Europe, which, I think, is probably causing our friends some anxiety. As I emphasized earlier, the Commonwealth is part of the world as a whole. Each of the Commonwealth countries has interests outside the Commonwealth and is subject to external pressures. Besides being a member of the Commonwealth, which it has to consider, the United Kingdom is a member of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation, which was set up in 1948 to administer United States Marshall Aid to Western Europe. In the ten years of its existence the Organization has concentrated on getting rid of import quotas and reducing payments barriers, although it has also engaged in other important fields of co-operation. During this period Western Europe as a whole has become one of the most rapidly developing areas of the world, and has taken an increasing share of Commonwealth exports.

Six of the O.E.E.C. countries have formed a customs union—the European Economic Community. We in the United Kingdom welcomed the setting up of this



Community, which is designed to promote not only the prosperity but also the unity of its members. But we felt that we ourselves could not join the Community, and other countries in Europe felt likewise. Briefly, the reasons for this were that we should have been bound to a common commercial policy, settled ultimately by a system of majority voting in which we should have been in a minority. As only a quarter of our trade is with Europe, we could not have our commercial policies with the whole world determined by the need to reach agreement with the Six. Secondly, to have joined the Community would have meant having a common external tariff. That would have meant the end of Commonwealth free entry, and we could not have that. Further, the Community is to have a common agricultural policy and this might have repercussions on our treatment of Commonwealth agricultural imports. At the same time, we and other members of the O.E.E.C. saw dangers in the Community standing by itself. The members, we feared, might pursue policies of an inward-looking, protectionist and restrictive nature, and the Community, unaccompanied by a wider association, might lead to a division of Europe between the European Economic Community and the rest. For these reasons, the countries of the O.E.E.C. decided to try to negotiate a European free trade area embracing all seventeen countries. These negotiations broke down a year ago, when the French Government announced that they could no longer support the idea of a free trade area.

When the negotiations for a free trade area broke down it was natural that the other O.E.E.C. countries should have considered alternative possibilities. Seven of them, including the United Kingdom, have decided to pursue the aims of freeing trade restrictions in a separate group—the European Free Trade Association; a convention establishing it is now being negotiated. The aim is both to keep up the momentum for finding the means of avoiding a split in Europe and making the benefits of co-operation Europe-wide, and also to ensure the advantages of tariff reductions and quota abolitions among the members in accordance with the provisions of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. We believe that this is the best way to advance towards a European market free of tariffs and other restrictions, and we hope that the effect of the European Free Trade Association will be to contribute towards a general rise in the level of economic activity in Europe, which would be to the benefit of all countries throughout the world. The creation of the European Free Trade Association does of course give rise to some problems, but let me say this: in all our negotiations we have taken, and we will always take, the greatest care to minimize the danger of hurting the trade of any other Commonwealth country. We believe that, as European economic activity increases, there will be a greater demand there for materials and goods from Commonwealth countries.

Our long-term aim remains to negotiate a system of European economic co-operation which will make provision for the association of the E.E.C. with the rest of Europe within the world-wide framework of multilateral trade set up by G.A.T.T. which offers to us and to our Commonwealth partners the best prospects of expanding our trade with each other and with the rest of the world.

I should add that the United Kingdom is in close and constant touch with other Commonwealth countries on developments in European trade, and all Commonwealth countries are co-operating closely in G.A.T.T. in working towards solutions of the problems that arise.

In the field of commodities trade, we support the policy agreed upon by the Montreal Conference, including concerted action on a commodity-by-commodity basis. We are also playing our part by aiming at the expansion of our own economic activity and by our efforts, in G.A.T.T. and elsewhere, to help in reducing protectionism. We participate in all the existing international arrangements for stabilizing, either directly or indirectly, the prices of individual commodities. We have been members of the International Sugar Agreement and the International Tin Agreement since their inception, and we have rejoined the International Wheat Agreement. We have taken part in the recent United Nations discussions on lead and zinc, and will join the international study group which is to be set up for these commodities. We also belong to all the other international study groups for coffee, cotton, rubber,



wool, rice, cocoa, coconuts and grains. In the field of commodity trade, we support the policy we all agreed together at Montreal.

Before I forget it, I am sure that you would wish to put on record an expression of the gratitude we all feel to Her Majesty the Queen for her generosity in offering Marlborough House in London as a place for Commonwealth meetings. We hope that by 1961 the main Commonwealth economic bodies will hold their meetings there when they meet in London.

Fellow Delegates, I have given you the picture as I see it. We all have economic problems to face in our own countries. There may be certain conflicts of interest within the Commonwealth. We do not all see eye to eye as to how to meet the external pressures of the rest of the world, but I am sure that the more closely we can work together and work with each other, the more fully can we understand each other's aims and problems, and the more likely we are to be able to seize the opportunities that are before us.

**Mr. J. H. T. Ricard, M.P. (Canada):** Mr. Chairman, fellow Delegates of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, we are here assembled from all corners of the world to discuss matters relating to our Commonwealth, matters that are of so much importance not only to the Commonwealth itself but also to the whole free world. Individually, we belong to different races, different cultures, different religions, different political parties and, also, we are of different colours. However, in spite of all those differences we stand united and determined to pool together our thoughts and our ability for the best of all concerned. During the month and one-half that we have lived together while touring this great and promising country of Australia we have had a clear example of co-operation, friendship, goodwill and good understanding. It is my hope that these indispensable requisites for the complete success of our reunion will continue at a very high degree all through our Conference.

Here we are with the problems of our individual countries. How can these problems, overlapping one another, be solved? Only tolerance, goodwill and understanding amongst ourselves can do it for the benefit of the free world.

To illustrate how we, of Canada, look upon the Commonwealth, I can do no better than repeat the words spoken by our Prime Minister in addressing the Commonwealth Trade Conference in Montreal, on 18th September, 1958. I quote:

"This is a Conference and a moment to which I have long looked forward. This is a moment when representatives of our community of nations are gathered together in a common purpose. That purpose is to increase our understanding of one another's economical problems; to secure among ourselves, and with others, the beneficent expansion of trade; to share in some measure each other's burdens; to extend the horizons of mutual assistance; to renew the strength of old friendships and form new ones; and to deepen our awareness of that essential unity in matters of the mind and of the spirit which characterizes the living Commonwealth of today.

"You, the representatives gathered here, and your respective countries, are striving for prosperity and progress, not for themselves alone, but shared with other like-minded nations for this and future generations."

I am sure that I express the sentiments of the Canadian Delegation when I say that, individually and collectively, we of Canada are here in the same spirit as that expressed by our Prime Minister. As an example of what has been in the past our contribution for the advancement of countries less fortunate, I would like to place on record some of Canada's contributions to the Colombo Plan. Up to 31st March, 1959, Canada had received 1,035 students from fifteen different countries, while 134 experts had been sent to those countries. An amount of 6,618,000 dollars had been supplied for technical assistance, while allocations for capital assistance had reached 224,192,000 dollars. The foregoing figures are but a few examples of the sincere desire of my country in the field of assistance.

It has been said by others, and I wish to subscribe to the idea, that greater and closer relationships could be developed among the countries of the Commonwealth. This question should be thoroughly studied for the benefit of the community, and without any spirit of selfishness.



Now I should like to say a few words on trade. Canadians are a trading people. In volume we are the fourth trading nation of the world, coming after the United States, the United Kingdom and Western Germany. When you contrast Canada's 17 million population with that of these nations, you can realize how dependent we are upon export trade. About one dollar out of every three is earned abroad. Much of our exports, however, are raw materials. The welfare of the Canadian people is dependent to a high degree on our ability to sell our products, both in raw form and as manufactures.

Living close to the United States, we experience very keen competition because of their mass production methods and their home market of 180 million people. Because of our close neighbourhood with the United States, we are very dependent upon that country. However, in recent years we have endeavoured to increase our purchases from the United Kingdom, and we have also endeavoured to purchase whenever possible from other Commonwealth countries. Figures show that for the year 1958 our trade with the Commonwealth increased by 88 million dollars. This, I believe, is indicative of the Canadian Government's intention to promote trade among the nations of the Commonwealth.

I would like to draw the attention of this meeting to the fact that we live in a world of give and take. No one can expect to be on the gain side all the time. We must be prepared to share the shortcomings as well as the advantages.

The subject which is now before this meeting is economic co-operation within the Commonwealth. At this point in the few remarks that I have the privilege of making before this gathering, I wish to emphasize that the word "co-operation" implies a duty to give one's full share, on whatever side one may be standing in any deal that involves more than one anticipates. It has been rightly said that co-operation is a two-way lane. Thus, one cannot look forward to receiving only; one must also be prepared to give.

We must realize that we are at a very important turn in the life of the Commonwealth. All of us here want a better world for our children to live in. Much of the comfort of the coming generations depends on the manner in which we face the situation today.

Let us study the many problems facing us with calm and with a sincere desire to be of service to the free world. If we do this, we will have accomplished the task we were asked to do, for the betterment of human beings and, in the end, for the glory of God.

**Mr. Ian D. Smith, M.P. (Chief Government Whip, *Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*):** Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, I should like to say a few words on the question of surpluses, and the problem that they create, not only throughout our Commonwealth but throughout the world. Theoretically, of course, one has an ideal economic problem when one has a surplus in one country and a shortage in the other country, all other things being equal. But, of course, that little phrase covers a multitude of sins because, in so many cases, all other things are not equal. When we have a surplus there are two main problems to be faced, first, the problem of distribution and, secondly, the problem of payment for these surpluses.

Now the problem of distribution, by itself, is a tremendous one, which, I think, we have still not yet solved by any means. However, I would say that it is the easier of the two problems to solve. To my way of thinking, the other is the thorny problem. I refer to the question of payment for these goods, assuming that we can distribute them to the parts of the world where they are needed. Because, Sir, these goods cannot be given away indefinitely. I think that that is an economic fact that we have to bear in mind. As far as the short-term outlook is concerned, I think it is reasonable to assume that we can give away, and when we see the large surpluses which are lying around in many countries today we cannot, of course, deny that we can give, and give perhaps a considerable amount.

I think that, in the long term, we have to face the hard economic fact that somebody has to pay for these surpluses. A country's wealth depends on its ability to



produce. The more it produces, normally the more wealthy it is. In my country, Sir, and, I think, in many countries today, the Government gives the farmer a guaranteed price for most of his products. We have found that that is the only thing to do if we wish to ensure continuity of supply. Let us take the case of a country where corn can be produced for 20s. a bag—a purely hypothetical figure. If the Government can sell that bag of corn—or maize, as it is more commonly known in many countries—for 20s., the problem is easy. But, when we come to surpluses, so often we find that the return will not be 20s. We have then to decide who is to pay the difference and fill the gap. Is it to be the Government of the country? When we speak of the Government, of course, we must always remember that it is the taxpayer—that is you and I. Or is the difference to be deducted from the farmer's price?

I suggest that, whichever course we take, the operation is very delicate. If the project is a long-term one and if it reaches any great magnitude, this additional expense involves considerable sums of money, if the Government is going to meet the difference. Then, of course, you get a reaction from the taxpayers. If you do not raise taxes in order to provide these big sums, you have to take the money from somewhere else—money which has probably been earmarked for some development plan in the country. I think it is obvious that that will cause some resentment and some hardening of attitude on the part of the taxpayers. If, on the other hand, we try to take the difference from the farmer, we obviously, I think, shall find a lowering of production, because the farmer will very soon see that increasing his production will lessen his economic unit return; so why should he make the extra effort and go to the extra trouble of producing more? I think we shall find that he will tend to produce less, and thereby increase his unit return. In the long run that is unfortunate, if we find that we have shortages in other parts of the Commonwealth.

We believe, as most countries do, in private enterprise. I do not think that any of you have in your minds any doubts that, under the private enterprise system, it is the incentive to the individual which governs the effort that he puts into his work. He knows that the greater the effort, the greater will be the return. That is the force which, I think, has brought about the prosperity and the high yields that we find in so many of the more prosperous countries today. I think that is all important.

I should say that a fundamental principle in our outlook on this question of economic relations in the Commonwealth is that we do not want to reduce everybody to the same level. Rather do we want to raise everybody to the same level. Therefore, it is imperative that the tried systems which have proved themselves in the progressive, advanced, wealthy countries should be given a chance to perpetuate themselves. We surely agree that scarce resources should not be expended in vain. That, of course, is the position with respect to help for other countries. Unfortunately, the demand is greater than the supply. We have been told that by previous speakers. The leader of the Delegation from the United Kingdom, who was the first speaker this morning, and the leader of the Australian Delegation, who was the first speaker yesterday, have dealt with this matter. I think that, after listening to them, we can have no doubts in our minds. It was pointed out to us that today even countries like France and the United Kingdom are looking for development capital. We all are looking for development capital. It is difficult enough to get funds even for gilt-edged securities today. How much more difficult will it be to get funds to put into some project when we know that there will probably be no interest on the investment—and not only that, but probably no capital repayment either.

This is a very involved problem—one which I feel requires investigation by some high-powered committee in order to try to allocate what funds we have in the best possible way. I think that, first, we should try to help those people who are prepared to help themselves to a certain extent. That should be a guiding principle. All over the world today one finds people who are prepared to sit down, hold out their hands and accept any help as long as someone will put it in their hands. We must realize that, if we continue that, in the long term we shall be pouring good money after bad, and wasting very scarce money and resources. That would be a crime in circumstances in which, as I have said before, we find the demand exceeding the supply and where we



have so many good investments—so many profitable investments—for the means that we have available.

I should say that, in the short term, the first thing for us to try to do is to put the primary producer—the farmer—in a position where he can deliver the goods for the people of his country and where he can give them food—the staff of life. After all, that is the most fundamental thing. A country, like an army, marches on its stomach. The provision of food, I think, should be our first aim. Once we have achieved that, I suggest, Sir, we must try to develop the natural resources of the country concerned, because we cannot maintain people on the bread-line for ever. We in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland have a great problem with the millions of indigenous people who are emerging into modern life. They have enough food, but they want a little more than that. We are bringing them up and educating them, but there is no point in educating people if there is no means for them to use their education when they are turned out into the community. As has been pointed out, we have had great help from the World Bank for schemes for the generation of electricity, which is so vital to us and so necessary for the development of our rich natural resources. By developing the generation of electricity, we bring in factories, we provide employment for the people, and we thereby raise the general standard of living.

I should say, Sir, that the approach that we should adopt is, first of all, to establish the primary producer, or farmer, and to ensure that he is given a square deal—that he receives a fair return for his labours. Once we have done that, we should look further to the development of industry in order to raise the general standard of the country. I suggest that some central organizing body could help to solve this problem of ours. It is most unfortunate if any country in the Commonwealth imports from a country outside the Commonwealth products of which the Commonwealth countries have surpluses. I think that a central organization in this Commonwealth of ours could help to eliminate that sort of thing and try to retain any imbalance of trade within the Commonwealth itself. That kind of organization would be a great help in promoting economic co-operation throughout the Commonwealth.

**Hon. Sir Arthur Rymill, M.P. (*South Australia*):** Mr. Chairman and Delegates, on Federation, as you know, the Australian States entrusted the conduct of Australia's national and international affairs to the Federal Parliament. Thus, as a Member of a State Parliament, which is supposed to deal exclusively with its own domestic matters, I feel just as apologetic, Mr. Chairman, about intervening in this debate as a politician can feel. Our Prime Minister urged upon us all the other evening the concept that every one of us is different, so I will leave it to each of you individually to assess in your own way my precise degree of embarrassment in this matter. Yesterday, Mr. Harold Holt said that members of the Commonwealth were tied together by two great bonds—recognition of the Queen as Head of the Commonwealth, and a common democratic ideal. The economist would no doubt add a third precept, that no association can effectively survive without some common economic interest. Indeed, Sir, the modern development of the Commonwealth, moving from the British Empire—a term which some of us still relish—to the British Commonwealth, and then to the Commonwealth, with all the implications of those changes, and particularly, of course, the dropping of the word “British” suggests to me that the future emphasis must be increasingly an economic one.

Mr. Chairman, I would like here and immediately to pay a very full tribute to our mother nation, the United Kingdom—Great Britain. From her, Mr. Chairman, members of the Commonwealth have inherited not only the finest traditions and principles of parliamentary government but a common economic foundation of enormous strength. Every Commonwealth country has looked to Britain both for capital development—capital to develop its resources—and as a major market for its products. She has not failed us, Sir, and she never will, because that is not the British character. The figures given to us yesterday of her capital investment in Commonwealth countries last year show the continuing magnitude of her efforts for the common weal. We welcome her magnificent economic revival after the great drain on her resources caused by two world wars, and we will not forget how she held the fort for us virtually



alone at such great financial and vital sacrifice. Her recent confirmation through the ballot-box of an economic job well and courageously done provides an example of stability from which we might all take a lesson because, Sir, as has already been said several times in this debate, to obtain economic support, capital investment, we must qualify for it; we must deserve it.

Every Commonwealth country requiring assistance must face this issue, which could often prove to be the turning point between what I would call—for the sake of a name—orthodox and unorthodox political doctrines. There are several fundamental requirements, Mr. Chairman, for long-term investment, and I think we must all be and remain very conscious of them. That applies even more particularly to private investment. The first requirement, Sir, is political stability. This, of course, is not necessarily confined to any particular party, but the fear, for example, of a socialistic take-over of an enterprise once it proves successful must of necessity be a great deterrent to capital investment from overseas. Secondly, Sir, a healthy currency is essential, because the risk of currency depreciation must deter investment. I think a third important point is the avoidance of unnecessary undertakings based on considerations of prestige rather than of a successful economic result.

Mr. Chairman, these three requisites of capital investment apply, of course, not only to the relations between the United Kingdom and the other Commonwealth countries, but equally to the relations, *inter se*, of the other Commonwealth countries. I would like to deal with that particular problem.

Sir, successful economic co-operation between the various Commonwealth countries seems to me to be more likely to stem from a continuing and exhaustive analysis and examination of detail rather than from anything else, once the basic requirements are fulfilled. Forces are constantly at work to provide this, but I would advocate their further strengthening. We have active and efficient Trade Commissioners in many of the Commonwealth countries, investigating all possible avenues of trade. I hope that the Trade Commissioner service can be continually extended towards the ideal where every Commonwealth country has this connexion with every other Commonwealth country. Trade delegations have greatly assisted in exploring markets and they have proved their value. I would advocate more of these wherever reasonable prospects of the successful development of trade exists, and that such delegations should follow the general pattern of being representative of both government and private business. They should consist in particular of businessmen interested in and knowledgeable about the major products of the country concerned.

Sir, double taxation relief arrangements have greatly assisted capital investment in various countries, and again I would think that the ideal would be that all Commonwealth countries should attain these reciprocal arrangements. Economic Conferences such as that held in Montreal in 1958, to which Lord Mills has recently referred, have proved extremely valuable. I think that such Conferences can result in the examination of intimate detail, which I regard as so essential and which, of course, is impracticable at a Conference such as this. Our role is to discuss things in general terms.

Sir, I know there are inhibiting factors to economic co-operation within the Commonwealth, such as the need to trade with the rest of the world, various international agreements and arrangements, and so on; but the success achieved in intra-Commonwealth trade proves the truth of the old adage, platitude if you wish, "Where there's a will, there's a way".

I should like for a moment to deal with the wider world aspect of trade. As Mr. Harold Holt said yesterday, a great degree of convertibility of sterling has now been achieved. I believe that complete convertibility is on the horizon. This is due, not only to the policy of Great Britain herself, but also to the self-discipline of other members of the Commonwealth. Here I should like, as an Australian, to acknowledge with gratitude the contributions of those great postwar dollar earners, Ghana and Malaya. There are, of course, others. But I feel that in full convertibility there is a sense of danger. I am sure that it is going to bring fresh problems in its train. The partial isolation of the Sterling Area has undoubtedly had the effect of automatically bringing the countries of that Area, which are the Commonwealth countries in the



main, closer together economically. With full convertibility, the necessity aspect of this trend will, at least to some extent, disappear. I feel that it behoves us all, therefore, to resolve that we must not let this sort of mutuality drift away from us. There are two things which I visualize might guard against such a drift. The first is our inherent regard for each other, which must be still further strengthened, and in which I believe this Conference is playing its full part. The second is the established markets and the experience of trading with each other. But a very safe way of preserving trade is a determination to produce the highest quality goods at competitive prices.

In conclusion, I feel that the spirit of this Conference is redolent of our great ties and bonds, both economic and of the mind. We have the will to co-operate. May I suggest that we all go back to our home Parliaments, feeling a real urge to examine and promote every avenue for further co-operation both in our Parliaments and privately. Let us all resolve to do our utmost to infect our parliamentary colleagues, wherever they may in any way be lacking with the same urgent wish.

**Mr. Edwin J. Keating, M.P. (New Zealand):** Mr. Chairman, the subjects for discussion by the Conference are so general in form and so tenuous that they might become, in some circumstances, prime raw material for cliché-factories. However, if one were tempted to fall into smooth, easy generalization, then I would say that the speech delivered by the leader of the British Delegation would have removed the excuse, because what he had to say was so packed with information and so relevant to the subject which is set before us, that he has brought us to see the need for giving serious consideration to the important issues which are involved in the question of economic co-operation within the British Commonwealth. I think it is valuable that he did cover the ground that he went over, for the reason that it is possible to overlook the very substantial and very real contribution that the United Kingdom has made.

It is worth recapitulating one or two of these matters, because they are not generally recognized, although they are appreciated, by the respective Governments of the individual countries of the Commonwealth. The Colonial Development and Welfare Act of the United Kingdom, for example, has been responsible for a sum of £230 million being made available over the years for Commonwealth development. The Colonial Development Corporation has made available a sum of £150 million. Britain has made her own contribution to the International Monetary Fund. There is a substantial Commonwealth preference in the London money market. The Commonwealth Development Finance Company has made several million pounds available also. I think it would be fitting, on this occasion, to thank them for the assistance they gave New Zealand in promoting the Tasman Paper and Pulp Company. That company received a sum of over £2 million and, at the present time, New Zealand is quite a considerable supplier of newsprint to Australia because of the capital assistance that was given at that time.

I may say, having regard to the comment that was made about the elimination of the word "British" in relation to the Commonwealth, that I am not over-pleased at the elimination. After all, it may be that the broader political issues overshadow the economic ones, but at the present time, besides having established a political organization called "The Commonwealth", the United Kingdom is its main economic hope. It gives me no worry at all that it should be called "British" because, very truly, it originated in Britain.

Co-operation in any field is justified by the need to eliminate wasteful effort and to make the maximum use of the resources which are available. If that is to be done inside the Commonwealth, then two major problems have to be tackled. One is the wide fluctuations of commodity prices, especially for raw materials, and the other is the need for capital expansion on an equitable basis.

With regard to the first, these fluctuations in prices affect (a) the underdeveloped countries which are dependent upon them for their foreign exchange and (b) the developed countries like New Zealand which have an independent economy and which are vitally affected by any sudden and drastic drop in commodity prices. New Zealand had such experiences last year and at the end of the previous year when the price of butter dropped from 400s. to 206s per cwt., and wool likewise slumped in price at the



same time. When I say that New Zealand has earned as much as £70 million or £80 million on the price of butter, a fall of 50 per cent. in the return obviously means tens of millions of pounds to the economy.

I think it would be fitting, on this occasion, to pay tribute to the British Government for the assistance which it gave at that time. The drop in prices on the British market was occasioned by dumping from other countries at prices below the cost of production. On representations being made to the United Kingdom Government by New Zealand, that Government was good enough to take action which eliminated from the British market that unfair competition. This had the effect of raising the price inside the Old Country. In so doing the United Kingdom Government raised prices to its own people. I think it is a tribute to the foresight of the United Kingdom that it was prepared to do that under those circumstances. It takes statesmanship to raise the price of commodities in your own country and affect your own popularity, when by so doing you are promoting the common good of other countries from which you will not get a mutual return.

It would be appropriate also, on this occasion, to thank Australia, because the Australian Government helped New Zealand at very short notice with the sum of £10 million, which we were very happy to repay inside one year. But the fact that these two members of the Commonwealth were so ready to come forward at such short notice is a tribute to the real spirit of co-operation which actually exists.

I think it is well to recognize and not overlook the fact that, while giving thanks to these two countries, gratitude is not a one-way street; it operates both ways. Again it is fitting, on an occasion like this, to remind the United Kingdom that, during the war when it had very great need of assistance, that assistance was given. It was given by my country. One means by which the United Kingdom was assisted was that it was allowed, in effect, to overdraw its account on New Zealand because it did not have the money to pay. But if New Zealand gets into trouble with England and has an exchange difficulty, New Zealand is then in the position of having to borrow money at long term to meet a sudden and immediate liability.

I would suggest that, if it is right for the Old Country to run into overdraft with a Dominion when there is a pressing need for exchange, there is equal justification for the Dominion to run into overdraft with the Old Country in the same circumstances. That is a method of finance that has not been developed previously. It may be that the time is ripe for it, and I suggest it to the United Kingdom Delegates.

But if a fall in price is difficult for a country like New Zealand, it is disastrous for an underdeveloped country. Where a price-fall cuts into our fat, it cuts into the meat of the underdeveloped countries, and into their bare necessities of life. Between 1954 and 1958 commodity prices fell by about 5 per cent. During the same period the price of manufactured goods increased by 6 per cent. If those are the terms of trade in underdeveloped countries, they cannot find the capital resources which are essential if they wish to expand. The underdeveloped countries depend primarily on commodity prices, especially of raw materials, for their foreign exchange. If they cannot get that foreign exchange, they cannot develop. Their plans for development are seriously hindered because domestic capital is inadequate. There is, therefore, a need for a greater inflow of capital from abroad. But that cannot be obtained. There is a corollary, which was, I think, covered very ably by the Leader of the United Kingdom Delegation. It is the need to organize more effectively the financial resources of the Commonwealth.

In that respect, I should like to direct attention to the proposal for a Commonwealth Development Bank, which was suggested in Montreal and strongly supported by New Zealand. As a result of the discussion at that Conference, a committee was established with the following terms of reference:

- (a) to give further study to any methods that may be necessary for mobilizing by joint action further resources for Commonwealth economic development whether from inside or outside the Commonwealth;
- (b) to report whether, having regard to the institutions already operating in this



field, there would be a role for a new Commonwealth institution for financing Commonwealth economic development.

That committee, Sir, has not yet reported, but I trust that it will do so. We in New Zealand are hopeful that it will make a recommendation in favour of taking that forward step. At that Conference there was some argument as to whether such an institution should be complementary to, or competitive with, the International Monetary Fund. The New Zealand view is that it should be competitive with the International Monetary Fund. There are forces outside the Commonwealth which are not necessarily in favour of this. I think it would be better to have competition, and some of those people who talk about competition should surely applaud this proposal. It would be better that such a Commonwealth institution should operate within the Commonwealth, drawing on the resources of the Commonwealth and not necessarily coinciding with the efforts of the organization outside the Commonwealth, which sometimes has other interests to serve. That, Sir, is the New Zealand view, which I firmly support.

Some mention has been made of the International Monetary Fund and of the fact that New Zealand is outside it. Frankly, Sir, I am in favour of New Zealand being outside it, for one basic reason. If New Zealand were to join the International Monetary Fund, it could do so only for one reason, namely to borrow. If New Zealand were to borrow from the Fund, we would be taking from a limited supply of capital resources which are more greatly needed by countries with a poorer standard of living. That should be clearly understood. There is not, as I say, an unlimited pool of money for capital investment. There are physical limitations to the amount of money and resources that can be applied to investment. Therefore, the more that the developed countries call on those resources, the less the underdeveloped countries get, and it is the underdeveloped countries that have the greater claim. To prove that, I shall cite a few figures. Loans from the International Bank to 30th June, 1958, were as follows:

<i>Country</i>							<i>Millions of Dollars</i>
India .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	399
Australia .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	317
South Africa .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	160
Pakistan .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	126
Rhodesia and Nyasaland .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	99
Nigeria .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	28
Southern Rhodesia .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	28
Ceylon .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	17
Northern Rhodesia .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	14

What emerges from that? We have the paradox that the most advanced countries in the Commonwealth are amongst the heaviest borrowers. That, I think, is a subject for thought.

To give further point to my contention, may I cite these further figures. Taking 1958 as a base year, these are the national incomes, per head of population, of the various major members of the Commonwealth:

<i>Country</i>							<i>£</i>
Pakistan .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	20
India .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	25
Ceylon .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	45
Ghana .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	55
Malaya .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	117
United Kingdom .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	360
Australia .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	372
New Zealand .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	422
Canada .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	..	550

The range in wealth in that scale is enormous. There is no doubt whatsoever where there is the greatest need. I do not think that there is any ground for saying to those people who have the greatest need that they are in that condition because they are lazy or because they are not prepared to work. My impression of the people of



some of those countries is that they work extremely hard for very poor returns, and that anything that can be done to assist them should be done, and done with goodwill. It is being done well and with goodwill under the Colombo Plan. Various members of the Commonwealth have made substantial contributions under this Plan, which are well worth recording. New Zealand has provided £8,300,000, Australia £22 million, Canada £71 million, and the United Kingdom £123 million. That money is being used for productive purposes and is raising both the productive investment and the living standards of the nations concerned. I disagree with the view of the Delegate from Rhodesia that some of the money is being wasted by being given away. It is providing a lever that is being used by the dependent countries to raise a very low standard of living to what is only a moderate standard of living compared with that which we enjoy. Anything that can be done in that direction will benefit not only the recipient countries but also the donor countries, and I trust that we shall continue to give that assistance until the need is gone.

**Sri Nawal Kishore, M.L.A. (Uttar Pradesh, India):** Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates, I am glad to have this opportunity to speak on this very important and vital issue of "Economic Co-operation within the Commonwealth". I take this to be the very base and foundation on which is to stand the big structure of this great Commonwealth. I may also say that on the size and success of this co-operation will largely depend the future strength of the relationship and bonds in between the Commonwealth countries.

All agree that our main objective is to preserve democracy and the parliamentary system of government, but we must remember that this in itself depends on the economic development of individual countries. In this world of today the economic forces and factors are playing an important and growing role in shaping the political destinies and determining the patterns of government. This is especially true of the backward and less developed countries. I am one of those who believe that without economic stability there can be no political stability and, consequently, no democracy.

This Commonwealth is a big family of nations, comprising about one-fourth of the world's population. Naturally, different countries within this Commonwealth are at different levels of development. Some countries are more advanced and have very high standards of life. They are trying to have more and more, go higher and higher, and provide more and still better amenities for their people. On the other hand, there are countries—they are in the majority—which have just started as democracies and are struggling hard to provide even the bare necessities of life for their people. The standards of life vary sharply. There are big disparities. If, as has been said, this Commonwealth is a family, in the true sense and not only in political terms, we must consider for how long these big gaps and disparities between the richer and the poorer sections can persist. Hence there is necessity to pool together all our available resources for the uplift not only of the people of our own countries, but of all the people in all the countries. These wide gaps must be filled up, the sooner the better, because if one section of the family is rich and the other is poor, it cannot go on in harmony for long. So, in the very interest of the preservation of this Commonwealth and this parliamentary democracy, it is necessary that the advanced countries in the Commonwealth should make sacrifices and, if necessary, even make drastic cuts in their unnecessary expenditure, and introduce austerity in their way of life, in order to effect maximum savings so that additional funds may be available to bring underdeveloped countries to a standard of living somewhere equivalent to their own.

We in India are going through the middle of our second Five-year Plan and have embarked on a new and unique experiment of planning on a vast scale for the economic development of our resources, in an effort to raise the standard of life of the common man and to establish a socialist pattern of society through democratic methods. The future of democracy, there and in other neighbouring countries, in spite of our inherent faith in it, will largely depend on the success we achieve and are helped to achieve in this great experiment that we are making in the big country of ours.

I personally believe that, without economic stability, democracy will remain a hollow drum, the beating of which will give only a jarring note. Sweet principles,



stripped of positive and constructive action, will never satisfy hungry people. Democracy after democracy is falling, and a feeling is getting hold on the people that this system is not very efficient and effective in a backward economy. It is a big challenge to us and more so to the advanced and progressive democracies. They must unite and give this life-problem more serious thought, and come forward to give greater help to the struggling young democracies and enable them to stand on their own feet.

Sir, I deliberately use the words "serious thought", because in the past, too, it has been discussed not only in our Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, but also between Prime Ministers, Finance Ministers, Trade Commissioners and even the departmental officers of member countries. The time has now come when we should talk less and act more. I know well that the Commonwealth countries have been alive to this great problem and already done something. We have the Colombo Plan, which is a specific expression of the desires for mutual help and co-operation of the Commonwealth countries and to help underdeveloped countries to come into their own and to develop their resources. Many countries have been considerably benefited by this Plan. I come from India. My country is one that has also been benefited from the Colombo Plan and I wish to express my country's gratitude and appreciation for this. I also want to thank Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom, and others for the help they have given to India. The Plan, as I said, has done good, but now, as its area of operation is expanded and many other countries which are not in the Commonwealth have been included within its sphere, the development of these countries naturally would mean more and more demands for capital and technical know-how. Hence the funds at its disposal must be enormously increased. I am glad to know from Lord Mills that additional funds of £200 million are being made available to this Plan, but I feel that even this would be insignificant in view of the rising demands that are being made, and are likely to be made more and more in future. Hence the Colombo Plan has to be revitalized with more transfusion of blood in order to be made really useful to the needy countries. Besides, the United Kingdom has also made grants and loans totalling about £150 million to her colonial territories since the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts were passed, and for this she rightly deserves our thanks; but still more and more money is to be found to cope with this colossal problem.

In the speeches that have already been made, some important suggestions have been given out. Some friends have said that there should be no competition between Commonwealth countries. I agree that there should be no unhealthy competition to the detriment of the other, but some competition is natural. I also largely agree with my friend who said that efforts should be made to stabilize the prices of primary products. In the Montreal Economic Conference in 1958 somewhat the same decisions were taken for the maintenance of a high and expanding demand in the industrial countries to promote the economic development of countries primarily dependent upon exports of raw materials; to moderate excessive short-term fluctuations in the prices of primary products, and to adopt means to mitigate the adverse effects of protection afforded to basic agricultural commodities and minerals. There it was also decided to form a Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council to review these matters from time to time. I know not how far these decisions have been implemented, though I am glad to learn from Lord Mills that the United Kingdom has done something in this direction.

It has also been said that we should strive for self-sufficiency within the Commonwealth. In the last Conference, too, in India, Mr. Gordon Walker made the same remark, that if we desire that the Sterling Area should survive we have to unite for self-sufficiency within the Commonwealth. This is a good idea, but we have to be careful that it may not mean the creation of a discriminatory economic block, because that would not be beneficial to us. Remember that in economic relationships new alignments are coming into being. Every developing country looks to new sources of capital goods, technical know-how and other helps. Also the Sterling Area is not entirely self-sufficient or complementary; and there are other important markets outside this area, so vital to our welfare. But I agree that we should confidently further the expansion of trade within and make more determined attempts at greater self-reliance than has been done so far. In this case the United Kingdom will have to



review and revise her commitments involved in the European Common Market and its offshoot, the European Free Trade Area, because otherwise it is likely to have adverse effects and repercussions on the economies of those countries entirely dependent on the export of their raw materials.

Now, Sir, I would like to make one or two points more. I feel that better help could be given if countries within the Commonwealth producing raw materials were provided with equipment and capital so that they could establish industries to turn their raw materials into finished products. The United Kingdom, as already said, has made valuable contributions to colonial countries in her own way with money, in the form of loans and grants, as well as private investment. I do not want to compare the help given to various countries, but should like to suggest that, in giving financial help and in making investments, consideration should be given to the size and needs of the country. There should be no political considerations in this economic co-operation, because political considerations and strings mar the whole project. I would suggest, also, that some thought be given to establishing a co-operative economic organization within the Commonwealth to work out an integrated common plan. Thought could also be given to establishing a banking organization.

Sir, we should try to purchase as far as possible the products, if available, from the member countries, and I would suggest that India today is in a position to supply textiles, hand-loom products, and various other handicrafts. Secondly, more scholarships should be instituted for the overseas students to come to advanced countries for their technical studies and training in its various branches. The Federation of British Industries started some such scheme in 1950 and till April, 1959, nearly 117 students have been benefited by it. The figures are:

Australia	..	..	40	New Zealand	..	..	10
Ceylon	..	..	3	Pakistan	..	..	22
Hong Kong	..	..	2	Rhodesia	..	..	6
India	..	..	16	West Indies	..	..	2
Malaya	..	..	2	South Africa	..	..	14

Total—117.

Thanking the F.B.I. for this generous gesture, I would again suggest that the distribution here, too, should be more equitable. I would further request countries like the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand to come forward with more funds for this purpose. We in India are prepared to make our own humble contribution.

Sir, I believe that largely every country has to depend on her own resources and must do so. The world capital market is very tight. We in India are doing our utmost to raise money from within to finance our plans, but still we want your goodwill, help and friendship. The conditions for overseas investments are quite attractive there, though we have introduced some economic discipline in our industrial policy which we think is very necessary for our developing economy and also to avoid the inner contradictions of the capital society found after a long and matured experience.

Sir, in concluding, I would like to say that if we all, as we profess, sincerely want to establish political, social and economic freedoms and consequential equality for all peoples in the Commonwealth, then, in the words of Professor Laski, "We have to build institutions that are proportionate to the revolutions in the minds of men and women". We are passing through great revolutionary times, where old values and notions are drastically changing. Our work today, Sir, is to build a new structure of practical and useful co-operation, with a new approach on new foundations fitting in with the new demands of this new age. I hope that this Conference will succeed in going a big step in that direction.

**Senator Thomas Amarasuriya (Ceylon):** Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates, in view of the valuable contribution to the discussion that was made yesterday by my colleague, Mr. Stanley de Zoysa, it is unnecessary for me to speak at length, and I propose to be as brief as possible.

I trust that we shall attempt in these discussions to arrive at beneficial conclusions, or at least to seek remedies for the many ills that beset our nations. If any disunity is



apparent in our deliberations, it will only be in the process of attempting to achieve unity; any disharmony that appears will be only in the course of seeking harmony, and any misunderstanding will be exchanged for a community of interest.

It is my belief that in this modern age no country or community can be quite independent. On the contrary, all countries and communities must, if they are to advance and prosper, be interdependent. We should, therefore, address our minds to the common problems facing us, in a spirit of partnership and mutual respect. I think the greatest value of the modern Commonwealth, to its members and to the world, is its demonstration of the possibility for peoples of widely differing backgrounds and characters to live together, not only in peace, but also in partnership—dynamic, creative partnership. I hope that this Conference will reveal the scale of joint operation that is needed to cover the ground between us and to achieve our goal of a fully developed Commonwealth. I pray that the blending of the experience of older members of the Commonwealth, like the United Kingdom, with the vigour of the younger ones will do much to help the Commonwealth realize its hopes.

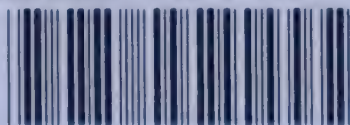
I should like to make special mention of the important part that Great Britain has played in shaping the new world ahead. Were it not for Britain's foreign policy, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Ghana, and Malaya would not be able to play their present parts as influential nations in the twentieth-century world.

It is certainly not easy to increase the wealth of a country. Resources may be available, but they cannot be fully assessed until surveys have been completed. Thus there are physical obstacles to be overcome. It would be unrealistic, however, to expect complete results from applying always technical knowledge and experience. Sociological backgrounds, formed by such things as land-tenure systems and human attitudes to work and wealth, should be considered as important factors in assessing matters correctly.

Apart from these considerations, which apply to particular countries, I believe the most important overall problem is the availability of sufficient finance and technical aid for current developmental projects in each of the Commonwealth countries. The Commonwealth is not a static organism. A product of evolution, it is capable of adapting itself, as it has done so successfully in the past, to changing circumstances and needs. This, however, requires careful preparation and planning. Apart from the finances available in each of the individual Commonwealth countries, the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, the Colombo Plan, the Colonial Development Corporation and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development are helping colonial and Commonwealth countries with their developmental projects. In addition, borrowing on the London market has also been made possible. I am all for retaining the preferential system of trading within the Commonwealth, because of its mutual benefits. I should also plead for new measures of liberalization of dollar imports.

I am aware that in the fields of finance and economics few nations can afford to stand alone. More than 50 per cent. of all the world's trade is conducted in sterling, and experience has proved beyond doubt that each member of the Commonwealth has been materially strengthened because of its association with other Commonwealth countries. Some of our Commonwealth countries are now faced with a particular problem; they have to continue with a high rate of development, so that they may increase their wealth and hold their own in a competitive world, and they must also provide a surplus to be applied to the improvement of living standards of poorer members. Great Britain has, in the past, supplied most of the men, money and techniques for the development of the underdeveloped areas of the Commonwealth, but we look forward to an ever more fruitful partnership with countries like Canada and Australia.

Liberty, justice and tolerance are the essence of civilized living. This way of living, as preached by the Buddha 2,500 years ago and tested by many great nations of Asia, and since exported to the other parts of the world, has become a way of life for the Commonwealth which, being ever more widely followed, has within it the seeds of that security for the individual and for nations for which man has been looking since the beginning of time.





**Hon. David Atolagbe, M.H.A. (Western Nigeria):** Mr. Chairman, I rise to support the views ably expressed by the various speakers who have preceded me. If I repeat some of the points that have already been made I hope I will be excused, for, after all, repetition is a method of emphasis and has the effect of stressing the importance of the matters repeated.

It is clear from the addresses of previous speakers that we desire economic co-operation within the Commonwealth, because, if the Commonwealth is to be what its name implies, we must stand or fall together, both politically and economically. Economic co-operation is needed in order to bring Commonwealth countries closer together, and thus lead to a better understanding of each other's problems as sister members of the Commonwealth. This, in turn, would lead to more sympathetic feelings, and a greater readiness to bear each other's burdens with love and affection. The sense of mutual respect among the countries of the Commonwealth would rise higher. Mistrust and racial prejudice would be reduced to a bearable minimum.

Sir, the question of economic co-operation is difficult always, the difficulty arising from various problems of varying magnitudes. For instance, there are the problems of distance of member countries one from the other, of diversity in standards of living of the peoples of the member countries, ultimately resulting in very high costs of production—this makes competition in certain lines difficult with certain countries outside the Commonwealth—and the problem of capital needed for development, particularly in the underdeveloped territories of the Commonwealth.

In an attempt to find an answer to the problem of capital in Nigeria, several times within recent years different Governments in the Federation of Nigeria have sent trade missions to Europe and America with the purpose of attracting capital. The Delegations were not without some good results, but they have not yet solved the problem. Yesterday the leader of the Ghanaian Delegation to this Conference hinted that Ghana might look for help elsewhere if it failed to come from within the Commonwealth. An Indian spokesman, too, said, if I heard him correctly, that India had to turn to Japan for assistance in shipbuilding—assistance which could possibly have come from within the Commonwealth.

Now, Sir, Nigeria at the moment is in very bad need of assistance in industrialization. We wish very much to receive the capital and the technical aids we need near home.

Sir, problems of economic co-operation within the Commonwealth throw a big challenge to the Commonwealth, and particularly to the older members of the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth is a mighty group. There are means in it to go far in the acceptance of the challenge thrown. What we need, first, is the will to bear one another's burdens in this matter. If the will is there, the next thing is to tap all the resources which are available in the Commonwealth—resources in capital, in technology and in raw materials. I recommend that committees or commissions be set up at once, particularly a commission on trade. There is room for far more trade between the countries of the Commonwealth. Let this commission make recommendations, among other things, on a preferential tariff system, on profitable lines of trade between different countries of the Commonwealth, and on possible solutions to other obstacles to free trade between countries of the Commonwealth.

I recommend, also, the establishment of another commission to study the potentialities and technical needs of different countries of the Commonwealth. Let it also make recommendations on solutions to the problems of industrialization in each country. If we did this we would have fulfilled the law of God, and Russia would never be able to point a dirty finger towards us any more.

**Lord Amherst of Hackney (United Kingdom):** Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, I do not think that anybody who has listened to the debate so far can fail to have been impressed by the large degree of agreement between the speakers as to the nature of the problems that we face and with regard to the strength of the Commonwealth, the need for the closest co-operation between the members of that great organization, and the feeling that by helping each other we shall all be in a stronger position to face the competition of the outside world. For, though we 660 million people in our great



Commonwealth do 30 per cent. of the trade of the free world, 50 per cent. of Commonwealth trade is with countries outside the Commonwealth, and therefore we cannot live in isolation.

I do not think that anybody who reads the report of the Conference at Montreal of the Commonwealth Finance Ministers can fail to be impressed again by the way in which the leaders of all the countries of the Commonwealth are facing up realistically to the problems before us. I think that probably one of the points which has come out most during this debate is the difficulties of the primary producers. They are in a most difficult position, and we have been given many examples of how they are affected by falling prices for, for instance, cocoa from Ghana and butter from New Zealand. There are many other instances which have been given of violent fluctuations in the prices of primary commodities. I think it is only right that the Ministers and leaders of all the countries of the Commonwealth should give the most earnest consideration to that problem.

The other day when I was in Queensland I saw sugar-cane growing. I am myself a grower of sugar-beet in East Anglia in England, and I was struck by the close tie-up that there is between the various parts of the Commonwealth. It is owing to both the Commonwealth and the International Sugar Agreement that I am able to sell my sugar-beet and that the cane-grower of Queensland has an assured market for at least a part of his crop. Although some of the crop is grown for speculation, and because of a most favourable season for sugar all over the world, the Queensland cane-grower has difficulty in selling the amount that he grew, but owing to the International Sugar Agreement he has an assured market for the greater part of his crop.

I think, also, that the point that has come up so much in this debate is the need for diversification of production. It is most dangerous for a country to be dependent on one raw material, one item of primary production or, indeed, on one industry, because violent fluctuations do not only apply to primary products; they also apply to the products of secondary industry. It is important that one should not have all one's eggs in one basket. An extremely good example of that was to be seen in the case of Australia when, a short time ago, there was a violent drop in the price of wool. Had it not been for the secondary industries there probably would have been a tremendous slump in the country. But owing to the great increase in secondary industry, Australia was able to weather that storm, not without difficulty, but very successfully.

We must realize that the industries in the more underdeveloped countries, particularly, require a considerable amount of help. Much more is required if the less developed countries of the Commonwealth are to have as large a share of the expansion of trade as we all hope for. A general improvement in the economic situation would not in itself be sufficient to enable them to expand their trade enough to finance their much-needed development. A report presented last year by four economic experts to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade pointed out that the primary producers were at a continuous disadvantage in their foreign trade, as compared with the highly industrialized countries, because of wide fluctuations in commodity prices and the restrictive policies of agricultural protection followed by certain countries, and particularly because of the difficulties that they had in finding markets for their manufactured goods as their industries began to develop. We in the United Kingdom are very much alive to these problems, and I think we may fairly claim to have played our part, through participation in the commodity discussions that have been initiated for the purpose under international and Commonwealth auspices, and by our endeavours in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade to bring home to other industrialized nations the need of less developed countries to be able to expand their exports.

The other problem which is common to practically all countries, both highly developed and underdeveloped, is the shortage of capital. We have done what we could. I shall not refer to all the organizations through which we try to help. Lord Mills has given those very fully. But, of course, capital is just not there. Capital has to be earned. We in England have to buy the food for our population of 51½ million, and buy it in a very competitive way. By increasing the efficiency of our agriculture we have managed to feed half our people, but the food for the remaining half has to be



purchased. To buy that food we have to sell in a highly competitive world. That means that there is a tremendous temptation to plough back into our industry all the available capital, because, as our industries have met with intense competition throughout the world, there has been a tremendous need to shift the emphasis from one industry to another, which has meant the employment of a great deal of capital. We have entered large new fields, such as the electronics industry and the nuclear industry. In some cases, through competition within the Commonwealth—for instance, to name only one industry, the competition in cotton goods from certain parts of the Commonwealth—we have been under considerable pressure to restrict the imports of those goods which compete; but we have felt that, as they were members of the Commonwealth facing great difficulties, we should not do that. In fact, there has been a great shift of emphasis in industry. Parts of our cotton industry have been very seriously affected, but in their place new industries have grown up.

In the last year, government investment in the Commonwealth through the various organizations reached a total of some £100 million. Private investors have invested another £200 million, making a total of £300 million. That has not been unrecognized by many people. It is true that some of that money has gone to countries which are strong, but which are also in need of capital. I do not think that one need regret that. It is only by helping some of the strong countries—as well as helping the other countries, of course—that they will improve their economies and be in a much better position to help other countries. In fact, they are doing so to the best of their ability. As their strength increases they will be able to do more, and I have no doubt that they will do more.

Of course, it is not only in the provision of capital that help can be given. When one turns to the report of the Montreal Conference and to the reports regarding the Colombo Plan one cannot fail to be impressed by the enormous amount of technical help and advice that countries are giving to each other, and by the great amount of co-operation that there is. Our object is to raise the standards in all the countries of the Commonwealth. That is right on humanitarian grounds, but not only on humanitarian grounds. It can be justified on the grounds of enlightened self-interest, apart altogether from the political dangers. After all, we cannot sell washing machines and wirelesses to people who cannot afford to buy enough to eat. But, conversely, there is in our country the person who makes the washing machines and the wirelesses. Unless those washing machines and wirelesses are sold, how is he going to buy his food? I think that that shows the tremendous interdependence of all our countries.

I am reminded of the book *Alice Through the Looking Glass*, by Lewis Carroll. We had the Queen—I cannot remember whether it was the White Queen or the Red Queen, but that does not matter anyhow—running as fast as she could, but she stayed where she was. To make progress she had to run twice as fast. I feel that with co-operation we shall be able to run twice as fast, with enormous benefit to this Commonwealth and to the world as a whole.

**Hon. R. D. Jorgenson, M.L.A. (Minister of Public Welfare, Alberta):** I am deeply grateful for the experience I have had in this wonderful sister country, Australia, and I can think of no better way of expressing my gratitude than by trying to give you, in the short time at my disposal, some concept of what the ideal of Commonwealth means to us in the Canadian Province of Alberta. It is a vision, which I trust is widely shared, of what our family of nations can contribute to the future of mankind and an inspiration to meet the grim and forbidding world situation of today; the hope, and as I see it the only hope, for a tomorrow of enduring peace and progress.

In this Session of our Conference we are discussing “Economic Co-operation within the Commonwealth”. It would be quite appropriate at the outset to invite you to consider the resources, the wealth, which our family possesses. How shall we measure that wealth? Surely there is but one measure of the real wealth of a country—its capacity to produce required goods and services. Measured in such realistic terms, the wealth of our Commonwealth is prodigious, whether it be the products of agriculture, of mining, of power resources, of forests, of plantations, or of industry. With the raw materials, with the energy resources for converting these into useful products,



with the rich lands, with the knowledge and with the skills which we possess within our Commonwealth, our economic potential is considerably in excess of our actual production—more so in the less developed countries of the Commonwealth than the more highly developed ones.

Yet, side by side with these vast economic resources, this huge reservoir of wealth, this tremendous productive potential, if these resources were pooled, we have tens of millions of our brethren within this family of our Commonwealth living in conditions of almost economic destitution. Furthermore, we are divided into “have” and “have-not” nations—developed and underdeveloped nations. This, I submit, should be a matter of very deep concern to all of us, concern as to whether we, as members of a family, are fulfilling our responsibilities to one another, concern as to whether we are, in fact, making the best use of the resources at our disposal for the common weal. For the moment I will leave this question with you. I shall have occasion to return to it again presently.

Now the unique—and in the present world situation of crisis, the fundamentally important—feature of the Commonwealth of Nations is that it is essentially an organism and in no sense an organization. It is not the result of premeditated and deliberate human planning. It is the result of natural growth from adherence to a policy—a policy which is rooted in the traditional British concept of nationhood reflected in that constitutional heritage we share in common.

Let us, for a few moments, consider this concept of nationhood which means so much to us. Its focus is the monarchy and to this day survives in the British monarchical ideal of democracy in which our system of parliamentary government is rooted. This concept of nationhood, which evolved over centuries of western civilization and is deeply rooted in eastern culture, recognizes that human progress and human happiness can be achieved only by observing and conforming to Natural or Divine Law; that there is a universal law of rightness by which the stars in their courses, the earth on which we live, the fowls of the air and animal life and everything in creation is governed; that to the degree we seek, find and adhere to this Law of Rightness—this Divine Law of the Creator—in ordering our human affairs, we shall be in harmony with creation—with the will of the Creator—and we shall find happiness and satisfaction in our national life. This concept recognizes that the Supreme Authority, Supreme Power, which goes with them are attributes of the Creator of the universe and His alone; that the purpose of life, of both the nation and the individual, must be to seek the Divine Will and be obedient to His Law; that the channel through which a nation seeks and submits itself to Divine Sovereignty in temporal affairs is the Kingship, and institutions of government dedicated to this purpose.

I do not say that over the past three or four centuries it has been consciously pursued. But I do assert that it has been at once the strength and the inspiration of British policy in the growth of Empire and from Empire the emergence of the free and equal family of nations we know as the Commonwealth. Throughout, Great Britain has had no written constitution, and because it was not written and therefore was not the product of human minds, but has evolved to meet the changing conditions of the years, the concept of nationhood, the ideal of Empire and now the emergence of the unique fellowship of Commonwealth have been the result of organic growth.

Here, then, is the key to what is so bewildering to the non-Commonwealth nations, those intangible links which bind together this family of nations to which we belong, links which bind us more firmly together than could be achieved by the force of arms or rigid agreements.

I invite you to turn from this brief consideration of the basic nature of our Commonwealth to the desperate world situation. I submit that whether it is the growing menace of Communist aggression, whether it is the increasing danger of war which might well destroy our civilization, whether it is the pressures of inflation or market difficulties which threaten economic stability and progress, these are all the products of human arrogance—the results of man-made systems and man-conceived schemes for his self-aggrandisement in defiance of any considerations of Divine Law.

That, I submit, provides the key to the importance of the British Commonwealth



in this crisis in human history. There we have what I conceive to be the mission of our family of nations. In flouting the authority and rejecting the sovereignty of their Creator, in deliberately striving to deify man in a man-centred society and deliberately rejecting a God-centred society based on Natural Law, the nations of the world are bringing disaster upon themselves. The British Commonwealth—and the British Commonwealth of Nations alone—have preserved within their constitutions and their institutions of government the essential ideal of a God-centred society; and within this unique family of nations lies the hope—the only hope I see—of leading the nations of the world out of the growing chaos which threatens to envelop us all.

But, I submit, we can do it only if we are true to our ideals. That brings me back to the economic question which I left with you earlier. I do not believe that we can overcome our collective economic problem of how to make the fullest use of our resources to the lasting benefit of all, merely by a policy of co-operating as separate national entities. Our ideal of Commonwealth is essentially based on seeking the Divine Will and not in being dominated by our national interests. It conceives of a family of nations in which “all are for each and each for all”. We need something more than just co-operation; possibly economic integration. I would not presume to say. Moreover, when we consider the political questions—questions of our relations with each other, our family problems in relation to world affairs and so forth—there is need for closer relations between us.

This brings me to the single concrete proposal which I wish, on behalf of my colleagues, to place before you for your consideration. This is that we should go back to our respective Governments and seek to win their support for a definite forward step towards strengthening the structure and the bonds of our Commonwealth by the establishment of:

First, a Commonwealth Relations Department of each member Government—to parallel that of the United Kingdom—which will be devoted exclusively to the sphere of Commonwealth relations in all its aspects.

Secondly, a permanent Commonwealth Council for the co-ordination of research and planning. It would co-ordinate research and inquire into the questions referred to it, and it would evolve—I use that word deliberately—into the means for a closer working together of all the members of our Commonwealth family.

I wish to do no more than place before you the principle of this proposal, and I have purposely refrained from elaborating on it.

Finally, technological progress has removed the natural barriers of distance, time and space which previously separated peoples and nations, and thereby have created an entirely new and complicated set of circumstances in the field of international relationships. In such circumstances, the basic principle which will best ensure international peace is for each nation to be recognized as sovereign within its own territory and obligated to respect the equal sovereignty of all other nations. Organized international co-operation is necessary to enforce this obligation. Canada can make its most effective contribution towards the implementation of these principles within the British Commonwealth of Nations, and should resist any and all efforts to weaken or sever those ties.

**Hon. Sir John W. Cox, C.B.E., M.H.A. (Speaker of the House of Assembly, Bermuda):** Mr. Chairman, after listening to our honourable friend from Alberta, I should like to come a long way back to earth and deal with only one phase of the problem which we are facing. I propose to advocate, if I may, something which has already been referred to by previous speakers—the importance of a system of imperial preference in maintaining the economy of the Commonwealth as a whole.

In 1929 my country gained about 30 per cent. of its income from the export of winter-grown vegetables to the New York market. It received its other means of support from tourist business and other incidentals. In that year, the United States Government, in response to an almost insane desire by the American farmer for complete protection, introduced the Hawley-Smoot tariff and, overnight, one-third of our national income, you might say, disappeared. I do not mention this piece of



ancient history in any spirit of resentment, I can assure you. Nor do I mention it because I think it, of itself, of any importance or interest to the Delegates here present. I mention it as an example of how a member of the Commonwealth can suffer considerably in its trading arrangements if its mainstay in trade depends on a nation which has no reason to have any particular consideration for it in a time of adversity.

As a counterpart of the incident which I have just related, one of the Delegates from New Zealand has given a most remarkable example of the way the matter works within the family of the Commonwealth. He recalled, with due gratitude, the action taken by the United Kingdom when the major product of his country was being threatened by the dumping operations of the outside world. I think, Mr. Chairman, that those two incidents highlight the fact that trade within the Empire has a security for all of the component parts which none of us can expect, and which we do not necessarily deserve, in our trading relations with the rest of the world.

After the incident in 1929 which I have mentioned, the Ottawa Conference took place, primarily as a result of the great depression which was then world-wide, and, in 1932, the Ottawa Agreements were entered upon. My island was a party to those agreements, under which we instituted some very drastic imperial preferences which most of the older members of the Delegations here present will recall. As time has gone on, those drastic margins of preference have been revised, but they are still in effect. One of the immediate advantages of the Ottawa Conference to my island was the enlargement of the trade in our produce with the Dominion of Canada. We regained something of what we had lost a few years previously.

It seems to me, Mr. Chairman, that we are inclined to overlook the real importance of this policy of imperial preference because it has become so commonplace. In my view, the general policy of the Commonwealth should be to encourage this principle of imperial preference. There is no doubt that the lower we can keep our tariffs within the framework of the Commonwealth the easier will trade flow to its component parts. The leader of the United Kingdom Delegation referred to the beneficial effects of the application of exchange control in promoting the recovery of sterling. In that matter, every member of the Commonwealth co-operated to the greatest degree possible, and there is no question that, as a result of that Commonwealth-wide co-operation, sterling has regained the strength which it shows today.

Mr. Chairman, if we analyse exchange control, we see that it is imperial preference in a new form. There was a drastic reapplication of the drastic margins of preference which existed immediately after the Ottawa Agreement. That helped to protect Commonwealth trading during the period of the depression, which was worldwide. I would say that, from the mere fact that the relics of the Ottawa Agreement are still in effect, although twenty-five years old, it is time to look at this matter again.

I must agree with the contention of the leader of the United Kingdom Delegation that the Commonwealth cannot remain in a vacuum. As Lord Amherst has told us, 50 per cent. of the trade of Commonwealth countries is conducted with nations outside the Commonwealth. Nevertheless, I do not think it can be doubted that the Commonwealth will be strengthened if imperial preferences are maintained. The effect of strengthening those preferences would be to enable trade to flow more readily within the Empire—or within the Commonwealth, if you prefer that term. Mr. Chairman, the immediate question is: how can that be brought about? Here, I have no real suggestion to make. Whether it should be done by consultation between the larger units of the Empire, with the smaller units being asked to join in, or whether there should be a reconstitution of something along the lines of the Conference at Ottawa in 1932, I do not know. However, I suggest that this would be a fruitful source of investigation, and I believe that we should endeavour to promote anything to enable us to obtain the beneficial effects that would flow from a properly constituted imperial preference.

**Hon. Shri M. A. Ayyangar, M.P. (Speaker of the Lok Sabha, India):** Mr. Chairman, it is time for us to consider, as members of the Commonwealth, whether we can operate as a single economic unit. That does not mean that we must isolate ourselves from the rest of the world. In June or July of this year I was privileged to lead a



Delegation of Members of Parliament to the East-European countries, where I remained for nearly a month and a half. During that time I visited Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Poland. I found that they are trying to improve their economic conditions by industrialization. I do not mean to say that we must copy the example of Russia and China in their political outlook and political set-up, but by co-operating with each other it is easy to see that we could be brought to the level of other countries higher up. We must face the economic hard facts of today. China and Russia and the East-European countries have virtually established a common market. We in India have to compete with China, which has entered into the textile market. I know that Japan is also dumping its goods into Hong Kong. How can we compete with these countries? We must consider the best means of making our goods available cheaply. For this purpose, I would suggest there must be an economic plan for the whole of the Commonwealth. It may be a five-year plan or a ten-year plan. I understand that there is an economic plan for the East-European countries. Their representatives meet each year and discuss their industries and raw products. Whatever commodities are produced in one are sent in a free market in some other of that group. This matter is resolved on humane principles. They have a common plan and a programme.

Each one of the countries of the Commonwealth has its own plan. After we attained our independence, we started a Five-year Plan in 1950, and we are now running through the Second Five-year Plan. We ourselves are requesting this country and that country to subscribe to our loans. It ought to be the business of the entire Commonwealth to see to it that the industrial potentialities of every one of its members are surveyed and its economic needs are provided for. This will enable the standard of living of its masses to be improved and their unemployment relieved. What is the use of our struggling to produce raw products if we cannot find an outside market for them? How our products can best be utilized in other countries ought to be a matter for the Commonwealth as a whole to determine under a common plan and programme. This is my suggestion. Each country should work as economically as possible and try to help the other countries. I was glad to hear what the Delegate from New Zealand said about the national income of that country. I am aware that the income in India is low. That is not because our national income has fallen. The population of New Zealand is small compared with the population of India. I do not say that the people in my country should be rolling in wealth, but at least their income must be adequate for decent living. That is all that we expect. For this purpose, the united effort of all members of the Commonwealth is necessary.

It was said at the Montreal Conference that a Commonwealth Economic Council should be established. For such a Council to achieve the greatest degree of success, there must be a proper economic plan. Year after year Commonwealth Ministers meet in various places. They should have a proper economic plan before them. That would not mean that we would be bound, lock, stock and barrel, to every provision in the plan, but at least it would give us an opportunity to learn what other members of the Commonwealth are doing for us so that we might consider what we should do on our part for others. We should work towards a common end. The sooner an economic plan for five years or ten years comes into existence for the Commonwealth the better, with due regard to the requirements of individual countries. When we meet from year to year, if there have been any defects noted, appropriate action could be taken.

I have been a member of the Council of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association for a number of years, and I have attended successive Conferences since the Ottawa Conference was held. What happens when we meet? We discuss the same subjects year after year without even knowing how far the suggestions made during the previous years have been adopted in the several countries. I suggest that the following should be kept in mind for the future. Subjects that are dealt with in a Conference of one year should be introduced the following year with a report as to the action that has been taken on them during the previous year, because they are new to many members of the Association. Many of the subjects that are being dealt with today were mentioned last year. I think that each year it is absolutely necessary for us to know what suggestions were made on certain subjects in the year before, and how far the



various countries have been able to implement the decisions that were made. We should be informed of the responsibilities that have had to be undertaken. As it is, year after year, we are starting afresh. Submissions are made by the Delegates to improve the economic conditions of the underdeveloped countries and to expand economic co-operation between the members of the Commonwealth. When suggestions are made, we should start our consideration by looking at the suggestions that were made the previous year. I hope and trust that what I have said will be of assistance to the Delegates, and that the suggested economic plan will come into existence.

The whole world is watching us and it also knows exactly what we are doing. It is therefore important for us to achieve unanimity amongst ourselves and to note any suggestions for future action. I repeat that when we next meet we should be informed of the progress that has been made in relation to the suggestions that are now being made at this Conference so that we can have a continuity of thought and action. Some of our Delegates who are Ministers in their countries have the privilege of knowing what suggestions are made here. The remainder of the Delegates will doubtless inform their Ministers about these matters on their return to their various states. I therefore emphasize that in future we must work as an economic unit. It does not, however, mean that each Branch has to work in a spirit of isolation. It is impossible for any member of the Commonwealth to ignore economic conditions in the world and how the Communist bloc is working.

If you have suggestions of the last year before you, you start from them and the following year you say, "Last year we did this; we have progressed so far; this year we will do so and so". I hope and trust that the help and assistance that we have suggested here will come into existence hereafter. We are not meeting in secret. The whole world is watching and knows exactly what we are doing. Therefore, so far as that matter is concerned, any resolutions which are agreed to, whether unanimously or almost unanimously, must be noted down for future action. They must be printed and circulated to the countries which are watching our progress and implemented. Then, next year when we meet, we must be able to give an account of how far our resolutions have been carried out. We must have a continuity of thought and action.

Therefore, I would suggest that before we meet next there must be an economic council brought into existence. We are not Ministers in our countries, except the few of our Delegates who have the privilege of being Ministers, but we must implement as far as possible in our own countries any of the resolutions that we accept. We must tell the other countries how far we can progress in this direction. We cannot work in a spirit of isolation; we must progress with each other as members of the Commonwealth. It is impossible to ignore that and we must be realistic.

The Communist bloc gives us an example. I visited some of these countries and nothing was hidden from me. I went there as a friend, saw every corner of the country and listened to their economic policies. Now we are hearing about a European free market. The people in these countries are trained to implement their policies and to come together. At the moment the world is divided into two economic groups. We are finding it almost impossible to get dollars, and we are spending all we have almost every day. But in the Communist bloc they have their own dollars. I was interested to notice that one of the important members of the Commonwealth, Canada, is now using its own dollar currency. I say again that the world is divided into two blocs. We seem to be under the impression that all is well. We have an attitude of *laissez-faire*, but I am afraid it will not work in the future.

It may be good for Great Britain and other highly developed countries to feel that all is well, but there are other countries in the Commonwealth which are not so developed. In India we have an ancient civilization, but we have poverty. I am really ashamed to have to come and plead before you because my country is underdeveloped. New Zealand, which started only 150 years ago, has a sense of pride because it is developed. Of course I am proud of my country and of my ancestors, but I must be proud of myself also. One cannot be proud of poverty on account of a vast population and on account of other circumstances which do not allow one's country to progress as rapidly as possible, economically or industrially.



I am certain, however, that if proper help and encouragement are given to any of these underdeveloped countries and we can work together as an economic unit and be realistic, we will grow into a huge power. It is a grand experiment that is being made. There is no white or dark or brown. Almost all the colours you can get can be found in the one body. We can make it a happy blend. We can have a white nation if you think white is best or we can have a dark nation if you think dark is best.

I shall conclude by emphasizing again that there must be an economic unit which will work to a prepared plan. I should like to see the Economic Council, suggested at the Montreal Conference, established as quickly as possible. I was extremely glad to hear Mr. Harold Holt, of Australia, say that Great Britain was ready to give economic help and that the set-up was complete. There must be a happy dispersal of industries. In the future there must not be a setting up of industrial monopolies, but industries should be established in the interests of the community throughout the whole of the Commonwealth and not in one particular part. If goods can be produced with advantage, the capital used to establish the industries will help the local people and remove unemployment. But instead of concentrating the same kind of industry in the same place, new industries must be established in various places. This will raise the standard of living and provide employment as quickly as possible in as many places as possible.

So far as the procurement of capital is concerned it was said that everything is being done. Great Britain last year sent £50 million to India. America also subscribed £23 million. It is commendable that Great Britain should contribute £50 million to set up industries in various parts of the Commonwealth.

I should like to make a suggestion. In India we are trying to raise funds locally. During the war, savings schemes were adopted in a number of places and they operated for some years. If savings schemes were started in every country, even though they may not be necessary, and the people were told that they were not for war purposes, because war means poverty, division and misery, they could be used for economic development, to establish industries and provide employment.

I did not expect to speak or to impose myself upon you for so long, but I wanted to urge the need for a realistic approach to our problems. Again and again various propositions are made, involving us in multilateral contracts and so on, but we have to be realistic. In India we have a great population of 400 million. We would be glad to know that we could draw upon the resources of the Commonwealth for help. If we are given help for five years more, we will then be in a position to contribute help to the rest of the Commonwealth.

**Hon. Roland Michener, Q.C., M.P. (Speaker of the House of Commons, Canada):** Although one can agree wholeheartedly with much of what Mr. Ayyangar has said, particularly philosophically and with his general statements, I should like to comment on two points he made. I am not clear whether he was suggesting that Canada should abandon the dollar currency in favour of the rupee. If so, I would have to take that suggestion back to Canada. In any event, we are able to have one in exchange for the other. We are always happy to have your rupees and you are glad to have our dollars.

The second and serious point was with regard to the proposed Economic Council. This has been mentioned twice today. I think we should all appreciate the implications of the proposed Economic Council, if it is to have any significant consequences. If such a Council were to be established, it could promulgate and suggest and put forward a five-year plan for economic co-operation within the Commonwealth. A necessary consequence of that would be that each country would have to submit its own five-year plan to the overall planning of that Economic Council.

I question very much whether India would be prepared to subject its own Five-year Plan to the modifications that might be imposed on her by an Economic Council of the whole Commonwealth. The matter really involves politics as well as economics. On that account, in order to keep the record clear, I think I should say—I am probably expressing the views of many members of the Commonwealth—that in the past we have been evolving in the direction of independent management of our own affairs



to the point where we are now completely self-governing, and what we do in concert we do voluntarily on the basis of consultation and co-operation. Having gained independence of action I doubt whether any members of the Commonwealth are willing to abandon that position, particularly as it involves a loss of political independence.

I think one good point was made, which might be taken back to our respective Governments. The Economic and Trade Conference that met in Montreal last year was, of course, a specific conference or council for a specific purpose. I think it achieved a good deal, and it may be that regular conferences of that kind would effect an improvement in our machinery of co-operation. That is a matter for Governments. Such conferences are conferences of Governments. I personally should be very happy if regular economic and trade conferences were held to implement, as far as can be done by consultation and co-operation without loss of political independence, some of the ideas that Shri Ayyangar has put forward.

**Rt. Hon. Harold Holt, M.P. (*Australian Commonwealth*):** Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates, I thank you for this opportunity of trying to pull together the threads of our discussion and of seeing whether we have reached what I put to you at the outset as the objective, namely, the highest common denominator of agreement amongst ourselves in our talks on this topic. It has been clear as we have gone along that, although some points of difference have emerged, there is a good deal of agreement amongst us. I shall state what appear to me to be the more obvious points of agreement, and then, in the time available, deal with some particular matters that I feel call for further comment.

Before doing so, may I just take up one or two points that were raised by the last two speakers. Shri Ayyangar was rather pessimistic, I thought, as to the consequences of our discussions here. He felt that we made useful contributions, that we informed each other's mind, but that we did not carry the process of information far enough. That criticism may well be justified. At earlier Conferences I have thought that more should be done to get into the hands of our parliamentary colleagues, and perhaps in a form more readily available for our own reference purposes, the essence of what we said to one another. There have been valuable contributions. A good deal of work has been done by the Delegates themselves and I imagine that most of you are supplied, as are our Australian Delegates, with the results of the work of departments on particular topics. So there is assembled here a body of information that it is a pity to see rest in a bound volume of debate to which reference might rarely be made.

As an illustration of what I have in mind, I recall the discussion, for example, at the Ottawa Conference, of the Indus Waters Scheme. Several years later, those of us who were able to think about these things were glad to join in the task of enabling that Scheme to come to fruition. I am sure that is one of the dividends of our joint discussions. What could have been a very vexatious problem to two sections of the Commonwealth, with a solution beyond their individual resources, has become now a project for co-operative effort and co-operative contribution, and I believe that the information supplied at that early stage was a factor in producing that result.

In our talks here it is clear that we have recognized the importance of economic co-operation amongst the countries of the Commonwealth, and we all wish to make that co-operation effective. I felt, as the discussion proceeded, that Delegates had accepted the point I made in my opening speech, namely, that trade, development, and economic stability must be associated for our successful co-operation and progress. Economic stability, founded on sound fiscal and economic policies, is really basic to the whole process. The Commonwealth countries decided on that course at the London Economic Conference of 1952, and much of the increased strength of the Sterling Area and the Commonwealth group generally is attributable to the success with which we applied those policies in subsequent years.

A lesson was given to us in a phrase used by my friend from Malaya. I think that he, like myself, probably heard it at the International Labour Organization Conference, because the very inspiring slogan of I.L.O. is that poverty anywhere is a



threat to prosperity everywhere. When we come to discuss later the problems of the underdeveloped countries of the Commonwealth, we shall have very much in mind, I am quite certain, the very valid point he made that it is in our own individual interest as much as in the common Commonwealth interest to build up the welfare and the prosperity of those parts of the Commonwealth which today may be said to be underdeveloped and underprivileged.

There were in the course of our discussion advocates of greater Commonwealth self-sufficiency. Although we recognized the value of preferential systems, which, indeed, most of us have in general application, in relation not only to the United Kingdom but also to several of our other Commonwealth colleagues, we accept the fact that there are limits on the self-sufficiency of the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth must be a very important world trader, but its trade represents only a fraction, although a significant part, of total world trade. As Lord Mills said to us in a most informative and helpful address, we do not live as a Commonwealth in a vacuum. We are a part of the world, a very important and significant part, but our policies must take into account the requirement that we do trade with the rest of the world and that our prosperity is dependent, not only on the prosperity of the Commonwealth as a unit, but also on world prosperity, to which our own trade can contribute.

It also emerged clearly that while the industrialized countries have been benefiting by improved balance-of-payments positions, by the buoyancy of world trade and general world prosperity, that prosperity has not been shared equally amongst the countries that are largely dependent upon primary production. We must do what we can to strengthen the position of the primary producing countries. We have indicated ways and means by which this can be done. Schemes of price stability for our important primary products are in the long term, perhaps, the best answer, but, as Lord Amherst said, those countries that are primarily dependent upon one or more primary products will, in their own planning, have to look for a greater diversification of their economic activity if they are to weather the fluctuations that will inevitably occur in the future, as a result of either adverse seasons or movements in international price levels. So I think that those matters all represent the substance of agreement reached amongst us. I would like to deal for a moment with some of the particular aspects of them.

We have been urged to do more to bring up the standards of the underdeveloped countries, and I assure those who look upon my own country—I am sure I speak for others in a similar position—that, where our standards may seem to be a good deal higher than those of other Commonwealth countries, we at the same time are by no means unsympathetic to the requests made to us. My own country, which is still a country of capital imports, has, as I think will be acknowledged, done what it can in various ways to lend a helping hand. Reference has been made to the United Kingdom contribution to the Colombo Plan. We, of course, have played a part in that and have contributed, I am informed, £A30,700,000 to the purposes of that Plan since it was formed. We have indicated to the International Bank, as has the United Kingdom, that we are willing to have released the 18 per cent. of the total subscription to the Bank, which could be made available by way of loans to other countries. We have indicated our willingness to participate in the Indus Waters Scheme, to which I have just referred. In this and other ways, Australia is trying to play the part of a good neighbour to other Commonwealth countries.

Mr. Casely-Hayford made the interesting suggestion that the Colombo Plan should be extended to the countries of Africa. I feel there is great force behind that suggestion. I hope that we will examine it in a practical and helpful way when we get the opportunity. Where we can most effectively conduct these studies is a matter to which, I think, we can give some thought. I urge that there should be rather more frequent meetings of the Prime Ministers than has been the case in recent years. The last meeting was in 1957, and I feel that the three years which will have elapsed between that and the next meeting is too long an interval of time in this period of our history. Supplementing what can be done by the Prime Ministers is the work of the Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council. I feel, having just listened to Mr. Ayyangar and Mr. Michener, that there may still be some uncertainty or unawareness by Delegates of the functions of that Council. It is now in being, arising out of the discussions



in Montreal in 1958, and it proposes, as I understand it, to meet regularly each year, normally with the Finance Ministers of the Commonwealth in attendance. It will hold its meetings just prior to the meetings of the International Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the International Finance Corporation, and presumably the International Development Association, if it comes to be formed, will hold an annual meeting in conjunction with meetings of these other bodies.

So, first we have an opportunity to confer together on the major economic problems of the Commonwealth before we go, with our policies discussed and the greatest measure of agreement we can secure, to these other meetings which also have an important influence on the economies of Commonwealth countries as well as of other member countries who form part of the organization. I think there is great hope for the economic future of the Commonwealth to be found in the existence of this organization and its regular meetings. It will enable Governments to present their points of view and there, I believe, we have the best machinery, that I know to have been devised so far, for binding together as closely as possible the economic policies of our Commonwealth.

Mr. de Zoysa referred to the existence in the Commonwealth of two groups. He described them as the developed countries and the underdeveloped countries. I think to be accurate we must accept the fact that there are at least three groups inside our Commonwealth. Indeed, the United Kingdom is probably the only country that would fall within a strict definition of a developed country, and it does not follow that the United Kingdom is without its requirements of capital, as I have reason to know. But there is quite a group of countries, including Canada, South Africa, New Zealand and Australia, which are developed in the sense that they have gone beyond the stage of producing one or two basic primary products and have managed to establish a good deal of industry, but are still in the process of development at a very rapid pace. I should like you to have in your minds something of the problem which we face because that may help to explain our attitudes in other directions.

I mentioned yesterday something of the problem of capital formation and spoke of the limited bond markets overseas, even for countries, such as Australia, with a high credit rating. Can I take it a stage further now? In the Budget which I introduced to Parliament in August last, we plan to spend for capital purposes—this is a mark of the development process—some £A370 million in this financial year. Of that amount, £A190 million is to be raised by way of loans. That is the maximum we felt we could raise in this way. We would like to raise more but, looking at our domestic borrowing potential and what we think we may reasonably expect to raise overseas, we have made the limit £A190 million. Of that £A190 million only approximately £A30 million will be found outside Australia; £A160 million will have to be provided from the savings of our own people. The remaining £A180 million will be found from the taxes we levy on our own people. So, when you think of Australia as one of the developed countries—this is true, I know, of other Commonwealth countries that I have mentioned—visualize us as still in the process of development and as finding it necessary to raise through our own savings and our own taxes these enormous sums in order that the process of development may continue.

We are politicians, and therefore we are realists. We may be asked to engage in programmes of austerity in order to help the underdeveloped countries of the Commonwealth. But let us be quite frank and realistic about this matter. A Government which said to the people, "We will reduce your standard by 10 per cent. to help other countries of the Commonwealth", would find it very difficult to have that programme accepted. It may be that we should be doing these things, and we have in various ways to try to do more. But we must recognize that, while our own voters will be willing to help, they would wish to do so without a reduction in their own standards. So, it is out of our own strength, prosperity and improved conditions that we will expect to have just that much more to set aside in order to help those less favoured than ourselves.

I think that is the way the process will be found to work in most countries. I think it was Lord Amherst who said that we do not strengthen the weak by weakening



the strong. We must try to keep building those who are already strong so that they will be able to do just that much more for the weak.

Our friend from New Zealand spoke about the International Monetary Fund. I think that he was really referring to the group of institutions. There are three of them virtually linked together. There is the International Monetary Fund, which helps to resolve difficulties caused by fluctuations in balance of payments and exchange rates. That is a quite separate fund from the other institutions. There is then the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and there is the International Finance Corporation, which makes loans to private enterprise and which we can virtually ignore for the purposes of our own discussion.

The Delegate from New Zealand mentioned that some of the stronger countries of the Commonwealth had secured the largest loans from the International Bank, and this is the case. But what he must also bear in mind is that it is the policy of the International Bank to lend only in cases of what might be said to be first-class borrowings; in other words, where there is every prospect of a profitable return, every prospect of repayment and virtually no prospect of a failure which will fall back upon the Bank.

It must be remembered that, in order to finance its own operations, the International Bank goes on the bond markets of the world. Its standing must be of the highest order in order that it may continue to raise its funds. Therefore, in the early stages of their development, the weaker Commonwealth countries do not qualify, generally speaking, for these International Bank lendings. Some have been able to do so, but they have usually got to produce evidence of a project which will stand up to the strictest scrutiny and will comply with the strictest conditions. In the case of certain requests that we ourselves have made to the International Bank, we have found that, although the credit of Australia was accepted without question, we were not able to secure the loans because the conditions attached to them did not comply strictly with those that had been imposed in the case of other borrowing Governments.

But what is more significant, from the point of the view of the argument put forward by our friend from New Zealand, is that, as the International Bank finds a country sufficiently strong to stand on its own feet, it tends to steer that country away from International Bank borrowing. I can say inside this Chamber that it is very unlikely that Australia will be able to do much more in the way of borrowing from the International Bank, just for that reason. The Bank says to us, "You are now able to go out on the bond markets of the world and borrow there, and we want you to do so." It then turns the funds that it has available to the aid of some country which is not in a like position of strength—and I think that this is a correct policy to follow.

When we have the International Development Association in operation, it will be trying to fill the gap which exists at present between what the International Bank regards as a loan appropriately to be made by it, one which stands up to the strict requirements of the Bank, and the sort of proposition which some of the weaker countries of the world feel that they can submit. It is because we realize that many of the countries most in need of development capital could not comply with the International Bank conditions that we all have agreed in principle to support this International Development Association, the terms of which will be by no means as stiff as those of the International Bank.

Our delegates from Western Nigeria and Bermuda spoke of the importance of the preferential tariff system. There was a suggestion that there should be a campaign to recommend preferential tariffs. As I have mentioned, we have already in many of the Commonwealth countries a system of preferential tariffs in operation, and I think that through our Commonwealth Economic Consultative Council we can advance the kind of study which those Delegates have recommended.

There was in Lord Amherst's statement a reference, I think, to the limits of the London capital market to supply the needs of the Commonwealth, and he gave us a very proper reminder of the United Kingdom's own capital needs. But I am sure that he will agree that the capital that comes out by way of loan from the London market is not made up solely of the savings of the people of the United Kingdom.



Fortunately for the Commonwealth, London is one of the great financial centres of the world, and, fortunately also, its strength is increasing day by day. That being so, capital flows into London for these loans that are raised on the London market, and it is not capital provided solely by the United Kingdom people themselves. It is important, therefore, for us all, that sterling should be strong, and that the financial policies of the United Kingdom should be so sound that there will be an inflow of capital into the London market, which in turn can be spread out through the Commonwealth as a result of the loans raised by Commonwealth countries on that market.

There are only one or two brief matters for me to mention finally. The Delegate from India made a very important reference yesterday, I thought, to shipping, and the significance of it to Commonwealth countries. There is a Commonwealth Shipping Committee in existence, and it is trying to study the shipping needs of the Commonwealth. I do not claim to be very familiar with its activities, and perhaps they do not go as far as the Delegate from India would wish. But I hope that what has been said on this matter of shipping will find its way through to the appropriate government departments and also to this Commonwealth Shipping Committee. As a country which is dependent on shipping for the freight of its produce over long distances, I can assure the Delegate from India that we regard this problem as having the importance that he attaches to it.

I would have earned your displeasure, Mr. Chairman, for taking so long, had we not been friends for such a long time. I am not going to delay our processes or use any of the time available for our lunch together. I close by expressing the feeling that we have had a discussion which has left us all better informed and, I would hope, even a little wiser, concerning the problems that we face in various parts of the Commonwealth. We have learned of the wide measure of agreement existing between us. We will be encouraged, I believe, by what we have learned, not only about the strength of the Sterling Area as a whole but also of the valuable work being performed now by some of the best machinery so far devised for the consideration of our economic problems. In these discoveries I hope we will be further encouraged and better equipped to promote even closer economic co-operation within the Commonwealth.

*The Conference then adjourned.*



## PROBLEMS OF THE UNDERDEVELOPED TERRITORIES OF THE COMMONWEALTH

THE Third Session of the Conference began at 2 p.m. on Wednesday, 4th November. The subject under discussion was "Problems of the Underdeveloped Territories of the Commonwealth".

The discussion was opened by Mr. A. S. Sinanan, M.P., Leader of the Opposition in the Federation of the West Indies, in the absence through illness of the Hon. Sir Grantley Adams, M.P., Prime Minister of the Federation of the West Indies. The Chairman of the Council, Senator the Hon. Sir Alister McMullin, took the Chair.

**Mr. A. S. Sinanan, M.P. (Leader of the Opposition, *Federation of the West Indies*):** Mr. Chairman, my honourable and learned friend, the Prime Minister, is, among other things, one of Her Majesty's Queen's Counsel and an eminent jurist and advocate in his own right. I am, Mr. Chairman, a mere solicitor of the Supreme Court, and I belong to what is popularly yet mistakenly referred to as the "lower" branch of the profession. But it seems a most fortuitous circumstance that the new West Indian Federation—an underdeveloped territory—should have as its emissaries at this stage of our development a Prime Minister who is a barrister, and a Leader of the Opposition, a solicitor, whose prime responsibility is to do what most solicitors would like to do to barristers—that is, to keep them constantly on their toes. But today, Sir, we have set aside party differences—rather we wish to present, with the greatest degree of unanimity, the point of view of a very ambitious and aspiring people in the West Indies.

The problem of underdeveloped territories is a global one and must receive the attention of the more developed territories of the world. I venture to suggest that within the Commonwealth itself the highly developed partners must make an attempt to understand our problems, to appreciate the need for assistance, and to give serious attention to this problem. I say that, Mr. Chairman, because it is an incontrovertible and accepted fact that a more rapid and extensive economic development of underdeveloped countries and, even more, an increase of their production, are not only absolutely vital for raising the level of productive employment and the living standards of their populations, but are so necessary, so compelling, and yet so obvious for the steady and unchecked growth of the world economy as a whole. They are also vital above all, Mr. Chairman, for the maintenance of world peace, world stability, and world security.

Let me make it superlatively clear, Sir, that we accept as a sound principle that in a large measure the economic development of underdeveloped territories depends primarily upon the efforts of the peoples of those countries themselves; but it cannot be denied that the necessary acceleration of such development, on the basis perhaps of their own plans and their own programmes, requires technical aid. It requires financial assistance from abroad and, in a greater measure, from the more highly developed countries of the Commonwealth. We of the less developed territories ask you to accept in all sincerity that we desire economic and political progress. We ask you to accept our declaration of faith in the mission of the Commonwealth and our complete acceptance of the parliamentary way of life. We ask you to believe that, by and large, our statesmanship is mature. We also ask you to accept this as a fact—that it is a most frustrating thing when our economic development does not keep abreast with our intellectual and political advancement, and that it is heartbreaking to us when we are faced with the stark reality that the parliamentary form of government and democratic concepts and ideals are lost and are completely meaningless to people who face starvation, hunger and want.

However, we are confident that our economic progress can be very rapid, because the leaders of the country at all levels desire progress. The politicians, the teachers, the engineers, the business leaders, the trade unionists, the journalists, all desire economic and political progress, and we give you an assurance that we feel certain will be supported by certain people present here, who have come and seen for themselves. We give you the assurance, Sir, that a mighty effort is being made to promote a strong, healthy and vibrant nation in the West Indies. Great Britain has bestowed upon the Commonwealth two most powerful institutions. I should like to refer to the



administration, in all its purity, of British justice, and to the parliamentary form of government. And here, Sir, I endorse the remarks made by the Minister of Finance from Ceylon, when he said that the safety of our parliamentary institutions depends upon the economic stability of our countries. I wish to emphasize, Mr. Chairman, that these powerful institutions of the Commonwealth are always threatened in an underdeveloped territory. That is why we say to you, the senior partners of this great Commonwealth, that your ultimate goal is ours also. Your heritage is our common heritage, your language and your way of life are in no way different from ours, your ideals, your hopes and your aspirations are shared by all of us. Your common frontiers are ours also.

We ask this Conference, Sir, to recognize that perhaps one of our biggest problems is to make you understand that a battle in Korea or in any other part of the world does not destroy a nefarious doctrine. You do not fight Communism by force of arms. You fight it by removing privation. You defeat it by removing barrack conditions and slum areas. You fight it and you protect our way of life by removing conditions which breed dissatisfaction and which make people fall the innocent, yet easy, victims of the sweet-sounding jingles of Marx and Engels.

Another important problem which confronts the less developed countries of the Commonwealth is the lack of equality which we encounter. It is always so extremely difficult to understand this problem, because in times of crisis our boys and our girls march side by side in the defence of democracy. They have helped to protect liberty and freedom whenever the Commonwealth has been threatened. We have played our part in the Navy, in the Army, and in the Air Force. We in the West Indies, during the last world crisis, kept the oil and petroleum lines flowing. Our people laboured overtime. We also made our contribution to the tears, the sweat and the blood which were eulogized. Yet, as soon as hostilities ceased, the former enemy was more acceptable as citizens of certain countries of the Commonwealth. Our people are excluded and treated as untouchables.

We must never forget, Sir, that when the poet sang he sang of all of us—"They shall grow not old as we that are left grow old. Age shall not weary them nor the years condemn. At the going down of the sun and in the morning We will remember them." The poet was singing of all the countries of the Commonwealth. He was referring to all this polyglot race which combines to make this Commonwealth experiment a success, because we also made supreme sacrifices.

Mr. Chairman, I would indeed be guilty of a great sin of omission if at this Conference of statesmen of the Commonwealth I did not express the gratitude of the West Indies to that great friendly northern neighbour of ours known as the Dominion of Canada, a Dominion which, with such commendable spontaneity, came forward after the birth of our new nation some months ago and made generous offers of assistance to us. Not only are they giving us technical aid, not only are they building us boats, but, when our Prime Minister went to their shores some months ago as the living symbol of our people, he received a red carpet reception and was treated as one relative of this great family would treat another.

The unique Federation we have started in the West Indies is the first of its kind. By this I mean that we are trying for the first time to forge a link of federation among a group of scattered islands. This is not an easy problem to tackle, but I suppose it would please you, Sir, to know that we have patterned our Federation after the Australian form, and therefore I suppose we are bound to succeed.

Another outstanding problem affecting us is the question of communications. Any student of political history will agree that communications are absolutely indispensable to the success of a federation. The cost of travel must be such as to enable the average citizen to travel at the lowest possible rate. Unfortunately that is not the case with us. We look forward, therefore, with great anxiety to a type of Colombo Plan for the West Indies also, and we ask that, if there are plans afoot, as we believe there are, they be hastened, because our normal budgetary proposals in the Federation account for just a little over \$9 million. We ask you to bear in mind that, although we are less developed industrially, we are extremely well developed in statesmanship



and in integrity. As you will readily appreciate, this makes the problem all the more acute, but we are vain enough to assume, Mr. Chairman, that if this Commonwealth is really to fulfil its ultimate objective it will try its best to profit from the abundance of talent which we have in our part of the Commonwealth.

It is unfortunately true that one of the most outstanding aspects of underdeveloped territories is their low level of technology. As a result of the remarkable strides made within recent times by scientists, the gap in technology between the developed and underdeveloped territories has widened considerably. We ask, why is it not possible for developed territories of the Commonwealth to do for underdeveloped territories what Canada has done for the West Indies? Would it not be better if a Conference like this could really have some meaning and some purpose? Is it so fantastic for us, as underdeveloped peoples, to suggest to the more developed countries of the Commonwealth that they should launch a sort of inter-governmental fund for Commonwealth development for the following purposes: to give careful study to the needs of underdeveloped countries and to obtain from them reports on their plans for public health programmes, land reclamation, rural water supplies, and the development of agricultural pursuits, assistance in research and education, assistance in the actual preparation of development programmes, to work with underdeveloped territories and assist in co-ordinating their plans, and to give technical aid as may be required? Is it asking for too much, Sir, to suggest that this is the only means of helping your own, particularly when outside offers are being made in such an attractive manner?

The contribution made by Mr. Winch of Canada was bold and reassuring. I agree with him entirely when he pin-pointed some of the most important problems affecting the underdeveloped territories of the Commonwealth. There is no doubt that some of the larger industrial countries ought to consider very carefully whether they are not depressing the terms of trade of some of the less developed territories. Sometimes they encourage within their boundaries the production of commodities which could be produced more cheaply by underdeveloped territories. Sometimes they even create a glut, and as a result they force underdeveloped territories to divert their resources into unprofitable sectors. Again, some of those countries export primary commodities, and they are actually offering competition to the underdeveloped territories. There is every need, therefore, for some efficient mechanism which would assist underdeveloped territories in improving their lot in relation to educational institutions, technical education and other desirable objectives.

Without external aid no underdeveloped territory could make progress in the initial stages of a development programme. We ask this Conference to realize that some assistance must be given in order to have education *en masse*, and in order to assist us to husband our resources. We need also assistance in the form of personnel. Give us those things, and we give you the assurance that the changes would be rapid, that our economic plan would be secure and that we would make everlasting contributions to the very desirable aims of this great family of nations.

These are some of the things which the underdeveloped territories have been doing. We have galvanized our people into action. In our opinion that is absolutely indispensable, if we are to build and strengthen our economic and political growth. We have established central units for surveying the economy, and for piloting our development programmes. We are trying to step up the efficiency of our production, and of our distribution. We are doing everything possible to carry out a policy of industrialization by attracting outside investors and letting them understand that our respective governments are stable. What more can we do, Sir? What greater effort can we make? We ask for the co-operation of those assembled here. We ask for your assistance, and your sympathy. We look to the day when the more developed countries will refrain from indulging in commercial policies injurious to the less developed countries. We look forward to the time when they will relax even their policy of double taxation. It would be a great thing if our more developed partners of the Commonwealth could establish machinery so that underdeveloped countries could get the necessary materials for their development programmes during a time of general scarcity.



I have tried within a limited time—and in the shortest time possible—to touch on as many problems as possible. Let me point out, however—and I ask you to ponder on these things which we are dedicated to protect and to foster—that the great institution of British justice, the parliamentary form of government, the maintenance of international peace, the strengthening of the Commonwealth economy and Commonwealth ties, and security within the Commonwealth are all absolutely binding on all of us. These are the things that matter. The promotion and fostering of these ideals is the cause of our coming together. Let no member of this great experiment—perhaps one of the greatest ever witnessed by mankind—the concept of the Commonwealth, mistakenly believe that it can, at this stage of world history, pursue a policy of separatism. Now, more than at any other time, we should carry our ideal of the Commonwealth, and of parliamentary democracy, abroad. Wherever it exists let us strengthen it. Wherever it falters, let us stoop, lift it and nurture it back to active life. Wherever it has collapsed let us strengthen its pillars, for I am convinced, Sir, that parliamentary democracy is the best form of government. In this atomic age, where science is striding apace, it is not weapons of war that will bring peace and contentment to a tired world. It will be this spirit practised by us which we hope, in due course and in the fullness of time, will be practised by all nations.

I ask this Conference, with the greatest respect and in the deepest humility, to allow me to adopt the language of Winston Churchill and say to you, as a representative of an underdeveloped territory, say to you as a representative of a people who are wedded to your principles, say to you as perhaps the most junior partner of this great venture: “Come, let us go forward together with our united strength.”

**Sir Roland Robinson, M.P. (United Kingdom):** Mr. Chairman, it is always a real pleasure to follow an old friend in debate, but when the old friend has acquitted himself as well as has Mr. Sinanan today the pleasure is enlarged. I think I can truthfully say for all of us that we have really appreciated the way in which he has opened this important debate today.

I think, too, it would be fitting if, on behalf of all of us here, I said how sorry we are that his Prime Minister, Sir Grantley Adams, who has come all the way here to address us in Canberra, should not have been able to fulfil his wish, and should be sick in bed. We wish him a speedy recovery. Mr. Sinanan spoke of the development of his own country. His people have ahead of them a difficult task—a new federation. In my opinion, it is essential that the Federation should live and I say to Mr. Sinanan, though at times the task may seem hard, carry on, and in the end you will succeed. In our own country we are all looking forward to the very early date when he and his friends will take their place as full partners in our great Commonwealth of Nations.

The problems of the underdeveloped areas have for many years been my greatest interest. To me, this Commonwealth development signifies beneficial change and growth. It means the enrichment of the Commonwealth and the enlargement of the happiness of its people. I therefore think that we would be right today to approach this problem with real enthusiasm, but, with the experience and knowledge that we have, we must temper our thoughts at all times with reality. I believe that the whole secret of solving the problem of these underdeveloped territories lies in the creation of new wealth. We cannot hope to satisfy the needs of our growing Commonwealth, and its expanding population, merely by the redistribution of old wealth. We, in our country, are hoping to be able to maintain our standards of living and, at the same time, do everything that we can to help those friends of ours in the underdeveloped territories raise their standard of living nearer to our own.

We have, of course, a different approach from that of my honourable friend, because, as has been said before today in another debate, we are the major provider of capital for Commonwealth development. As Mr. Holt himself said yesterday, we are the only net exporter of capital in the Commonwealth. As a matter of fact, we are providing something like 70 per cent. of the external capital of the Commonwealth. I think it is important, therefore, that we should consider some of the capital factors that are involved. One of them, as was pointed out by Mr. Holt and Lord Mills in the earlier debate, is that there is a world shortage of development capital. When we



do all that we would wish to do to help, there is no doubt that our own resources must be strained.

I think it would be proper for me to point out to the Conference that our ability to help in this matter must depend on the strength of sterling and on the development of our own economy. The basis of that is trade. If our trade is good and our economy is sound, we can go on increasing the aid which we wish to give. On that, I say just this one thing. If you want our help, if you need our help, do what you can to help us maintain our trade. There is a great deal that can be done, believe me. I have travelled a good deal, and I never feel completely happy when I find myself, in a Commonwealth country, being driven about in a German car. But there you are. We wish to increase our aid, and we want to be in a position to increase it.

I say quite frankly, in considering this problem, that we have moral, political and economic reasons for wishing to increase our aid. The moral one stands highest, for I feel that, from our point of view, we cannot be indifferent to poverty within the Commonwealth, wherever we find it. I think that, in this case, the common cause of humanity can also be supported by the knowledge that, in raising the standard of living throughout the Commonwealth, we are doing something which will be of material benefit to all of us.

I said that our resources could be strained. It is quite clear that United Kingdom help is not enough. I was very pleased indeed, when Mr. Sinanan stressed the help which was given by other members of the Commonwealth. I think that one of the most important features of the development of our Commonwealth is that, as what I may call the old Dominions are growing in strength, they are coming in with the United Kingdom as partners and playing their part in assisting the underdeveloped areas. I think that, allied to that, we should face up to the fact that we need and should accept outside help. We should pay tribute to what is being done by the Government of the United States of America through various world organizations to help our Commonwealth.

I think that we in the United Kingdom should pay tribute to our friends—to Canada, Australia, and New Zealand—for the great help that they have given in South-East Asia through the Colombo Plan. Help has come through money, and also through technicians. Here I would take up the point which my friend, Mr. Sinanan, made a little earlier. It is not money alone that matters, although without the financial resources you cannot do it. In addition, you have to have technical knowledge and experience in order to achieve a reality and to get real constructive work out of money. Therefore, I think it is a good thing that, in addition to aid under the Colombo Plan, we ourselves are now able to assist by providing technicians to go throughout the Commonwealth, not only to do technical work themselves, but also—and this is most important—to train the people of the Commonwealth countries to do the job themselves.

I commend, too, as did my honourable friend from the West Indies, the very material help which is being given by Canada to the Federation of the West Indies at the present time. Canada and the West Indies are within the same region, and it seems to me a natural thing that those two great countries should grow closer and closer together in this work. But let me say, also, that Canada has not stopped with the West Indies or with the Colombo Plan. It has given a great deal of technical help to our friends in Ghana, also, in the undertaking of development work in their country. That kind of thing is good, and the farther the field of Commonwealth help expands, the better it is for all of us.

I think I can say that, in the United Kingdom, all Governments, whatever the party in office, have desired to play their part. I do not want to repeat what has been said. Lord Mills, in his most interesting and able speech this morning, told you of some of the organizations which we are backing in order to give help to the underdeveloped areas. That, I think, is good. I believe that there is great scope for government help, especially in the field of communications. You cannot open up any territory unless you can get into it. So communications are vital. Water, also, is absolutely essential if you are to go ahead. Power, drainage and irrigation too are necessary. There is a great opportunity for government help in all these spheres.



Let me say, too, that government help alone is not enough. We want it to be backed by private enterprise and private capital. In this great sphere of development there is room for both. I think it is essential for us to understand that they are complementary and not competitive. There are many opportunities to promote help by private enterprise. We have seen a good example only recently in Ghana, where the Tunnel Cement Company, which is a United Kingdom company, is working in partnership and in harmony with the Government of Ghana in developing the cement industry in that country.

From the point of view of capital, I think it is worth stressing that there is competition for the limited capital available throughout the world today. That applies equally to both private capital and government capital. I think that, if we want to attract private capital, we must bear in mind three conditions. First, it wishes to make a profit. Secondly, it wants to be reasonably free from the risk of expropriation. Thirdly, it likes to feel that it has the opportunity to repatriate itself under reasonable conditions. I think it is always worth while to bear those things in mind when we go out to attract private capital from various parts of the Commonwealth. This is a point that has been well and sensibly taken up by some of our great leaders in the Commonwealth countries. Dr. Nkrumah thought it well worth while, on coming to power in Ghana, to lay down the principle that those who brought their private capital in should have a fair deal. The same kind of thing has been said by Mr. Manley, of Jamaica, by Dr. Williams, of Trinidad, and by many others of our Commonwealth leaders. I think it is generally understood how these things should be done.

Let me say one other thing. I believe that the developing countries want to do everything they can to help themselves as well. That is important. I have been through a previous debate on this subject at our last Conference in New Delhi. I was most impressed by the words of some of our Asian leaders, who said: "The main effort must come from the countries which want to develop. It is their country and their responsibility". I think that, when things are approached in that spirit, we cannot go wrong. Those who are providing the capital should not seek to use it as an excuse to interfere in the affairs of the people of another country, and to try to boss them about and run them in any way. The responsibility should be a local one, and we should be very proud indeed to help them to develop.

Frankly, I think it is fair to say that the more the people of a country do for themselves the greater is the reality of their independence. On this, I want to say just one thing. Last week-end most of us went to the Snowy Mountains to see that magnificent scheme which our Australian friends have undertaken. I think that we ought to commend them on the fact that this is a true example of complete self-help. They have financed it themselves. They have done it all themselves, and they have not received any outside help from the World Bank or elsewhere. The way in which they have carried it through is a great tribute to the guts and determination of the people of Australia.

Time is getting short, and I want to emphasize one thing more, in relation to the way in which we, too, can help. I think that, when we are promoting development in the Commonwealth, we should be very careful that we do not put any country in a position in which it becomes dependent solely on one crop or one industry. That way, trouble lies ahead. We realized this from the point of view of the West Indies. I think that our Government was wise to encourage the West Indies to go ahead with the production of citrus and bananas. But, from the British point of view, I want to say that we have to follow up that encouragement in the proper way. We have to remember that, if we get the people of the West Indies growing citrus and bananas, they want the United Kingdom as their market. It would be most short-sighted and foolish for us to allow ourselves to be lured away by the promise of cheap surplus stocks of grapefruit or other fruits from the United States of America. We must give our help early and when it is timely. We should do all these things as a matter of constructive policy. It is useless to give help after distress has been caused, after there have been riots and after emergency. Help given in advance and in good time is worth a million times help given after a crisis. In my opinion we are facing here a great challenge. We have, in our Commonwealth, the opportunity to create new wealth and to raise



the standard of living of millions of our people. Let us treat it as a crusade, as a holy war against want and poverty. The stake is the future of our democracy.

**Senator the Hon. George S. White, M.M., Q.C. (Canada):** Mr. Chairman, first of all I should like to offer my congratulations to the honourable gentleman who introduced this subject and to tell him that, in my opinion, he will have a great career at the bar. I think we will all agree that he presented his case in an excellent manner. I should like to thank him for the very kind and generous words he said about my country. His gracious remarks are appreciated by all members of our Delegation and I can assure him that when we return home we will convey his message to our Prime Minister, to our House of Commons and to our Senate.

In speaking on aid to the underdeveloped countries, it has always seemed to me that there is another phase which goes along with it, that is the question of freedom. Today, freedom is something which affects every one of us. If we succeed in this plan of helping to develop the underdeveloped countries, we are, perhaps, assuring to them their future freedom, which also affects us.

We have only to read history to recall that, since the dawn of civilization, man has always fought hard and continuously to maintain his freedom. Down through the ages he has fought against a horde of dictators of all colours and creeds. Many of us believe that today human freedom is menaced just the same as it has been down through the ages, but the menace today is more complicated and more difficult to comprehend and understand because it is felt less. We live in a different world today.

One of the facts that we must face is that the white races are a minority on this earth. The majority is made up of Africans and Asians and, although for many years these people were not powerful in international politics, they are now on the march and the direction of that march is as much our concern as it is theirs.

In approaching the problems of the underdeveloped territories of the Commonwealth we, in Canada, naturally turn our thoughts to projects and plans devised and got under way since the war. The Colombo Plan, in which my country is greatly interested, is supported in every way by all political parties in the Canadian Parliament. This plan, as we all know, concerns South and South-East Asia, and to understand its conditions one must glance a little way back. During the last fifty years the peoples in this area have been almost entirely under the domination of Western powers. We should remember that this is a fact which today, in some manner, still colours their thinking and their political concepts. They were affected, as we were, by the rise of Germany as a military totalitarian State. They were affected by the revolution which brought Communist Russia into being. They were affected by that turbulent period between World Wars I and II. In World War II the allied nations fought to defeat one set of dictators, but now we find that we have only given rise to the scope for another.

After World War II Europe was in ruins, its factories destroyed and its trade at a standstill, but Europe still had the men, the labour force and the trained technicians. It had been defeated, but it was not totally destroyed. What Europe lacked was the capital to rebuild, and this was supplied through the Marshall Plan. This saved Europe from utter chaos.

But when we look at Asia we see a very different picture. After the Japanese were driven out, there was war between some of the powers which formerly occupied parts of the Asian continent. After that war was finished these countries were so disorganized and weakened that some of them have not even yet been able to tackle the problems of hunger and the raising of the living standards of their poverty-stricken millions. Although the great country of India was not occupied by Japan, nevertheless, with the withdrawal of the British and the setting up of India and Pakistan, both these States were burdened with millions of refugees whom they have had to support from their slender income and, at the same time, try to resettle and rehabilitate. As a result of this, the Colombo Plan came into being.

The objective of this Plan was to review the broad economic aspects of the international situation, with special regard to South and South-East Asia. It was recognized from the very start that huge sums of money would be required and I



am sure that all members of the Commonwealth have made very substantial contributions to this Plan. As we look over the programme today, the wonder is not that mistakes have been made, but that so much has been accomplished against such odds.

Anyone who has travelled throughout India, Ceylon and Pakistan finds the drama of their development deeply moving, and leaves with a sense of profound respect, admiration and affection for the development of those countries. Not only is one attracted by the beauty of their mountains and plains, their old historic buildings and their holy shrines, but one is also made to realize that something lies behind and beyond these things—the age-old culture of India, Pakistan and Ceylon. It is an ancient and rich culture, one which has a tolerant and humane tradition. These countries have contributed to the world great saints, philosophers, poets, dramatists, artists and architects, and it is a culture which continues to produce great men.

But today the spirit and mind of these countries are confined by poverty. One has to travel through them to see with one's own eyes the conditions which exist because the majority of their people live in the villages. This is the key to understanding how immense and overwhelming is their poverty. In approaching the problem of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, the Canadian officials had in mind the pride of heritage and the desire of people in underdeveloped areas to modernize, but not westernize their countries.

It is recognized in Canada that the leaders of those countries are of high calibre, educated, and fluent in languages, and that they have retained a deep allegiance to the social systems of their own world. If progress is to be made, we who live in the West must learn to understand and adapt ourselves to attitudes that are unfamiliar to the Western world—religious taboos, a different sense of time, an acceptance of disease and suffering, and unfamiliarity with the idea of social responsibility.

In working out a programme without any background of previous experience, Canada was guided by these principles:

1. First place is given to priorities established by recipient countries.
2. Projects are chosen in which Canada can make her best contribution, e.g. power, transportation, evaluation of resources.
3. The projects must fit into the programme of the recipient countries and not be superimposed on them.
4. Canadian aid must have permanent value; it should not fall into the temptation of attractive but short-run projects.
5. Canadian aid, which is on a bilateral basis, should be given in the form of grants, not loans, to allow greater flexibility.
6. The scale of aid should be determined on the basis of what is both practical and useful.

Over the years Canada has been providing, in addition to its contributions to multilateral programmes carried out under the United Nations, increasing amounts of developmental aid and technical assistance under the Colombo Plan. My colleague, Mr. Ricard, placed on record this morning some of the various contributions made by Canada to India. In addition, Canada has made special grants of wheat and flour, and loans for the purpose of buying food. We have in Canada a large number of students from Colombo Plan countries. They are studying at our universities, learning industrial techniques, and receiving training in government departments, including those dealing with nursing, public health, engineering, agriculture, fisheries, and geology.

To date, my country has participated in or is participating in over ninety development projects in ten countries. Some of the main ones are the building of an atomic reactor, the re-equipping of railway systems with 120 steam locomotives, locomotive boilers and railway ties, assistance in various electrical schemes, the modernization of transport systems, aerial surveys, the provision of three cobalt-beam therapy units, the provision of wheat and non-ferrous metals, the building of a cement plant and a thermal power plant, fisheries research, and many other undertakings of a like nature. Recently, our Government announced that it would contribute 2,500 dollars' worth of medical books to each of seventy-six medical school libraries in ten countries of



South and South-East Asia and that it would undertake the aerial survey and mapping of the Lower Mekong River basin.

Canada announced at the Montreal Conference that in the next three years it would increase from 35 million to 50 million dollars its annual contribution to the Colombo Plan. It also announced that as many as 1,000 Commonwealth scholars and fellows would be studying in Commonwealth countries at any time under the scheme, and that Canada undertook to be responsible for one-quarter of the scheme that is expected to be in operation in time for the 1960-61 academic year.

Before sitting down, I should like to say a word or two about the future of the tremendous job of raising the standard of living in the underdeveloped countries. Despite what has been done, the job is still in its infancy and as it progresses more and more stresses and strains will become apparent. In the last analysis, there is only one broad road for the underdeveloped areas of the world to follow. That is the road to capital accumulation, scientific farming, and so on to industrialization. We all know the upheaval that this process caused in Europe and that has not yet ended. We know what happened and is still happening in North America. Asia cannot escape, for already her rural life is in a state of awakening. Age-old customs are changing and long-established patterns of family life are breaking up.

China is moving towards a radical change by way of a dictator government. India, Pakistan and Ceylon have chosen co-operation with us in the Commonwealth, following patterns of government based on freedom and democratic principles. The whole of Asia is watching to see which method will do most for its people. Eventually, it is human freedom that will be at stake, which means human happiness, and we who have worked out some of the problems of maintaining a free society owe it to those people of the underdeveloped areas to assist them by putting at their disposal the benefits of our experience. We can and we must give the lie to those who say that we have nothing to offer. We have much to offer, and not the least of our offerings should be to point out the road for our Asian friends to the achievement of personal freedom. But first must come enough food. A philosopher once said, "An empty stomach does not dwell on high principles". The philosophy underlying Canadian participation in aid to underdeveloped countries was summed up in these words by the Prime Minister of Canada, the Rt. Hon. John G. Diefenbaker:

"The good citizen and the good nation must recognize his obligations to the broad community of man. While we have our duty to ourselves and our special relationship to our families and our neighbours, more and more, we, as Canadians and citizens of the world, must seek to share the problems of every continent. We have much to give other peoples, particularly those in less fortunate lands, but we have also much to learn from them. There cannot be friendship and understanding between the continents if we in the Western world arrogantly assume a monopoly of skills and wisdom or that we must try to make all other peoples conform to our ways and thinking. We have much to learn from them, as we have something to give them. It is for this reason, for example, that we in Canada strongly support the Colombo Plan. The Colombo Plan is not merely a programme for giving aid from Western countries to Asian countries. It is a programme for mutual co-operation in economic projects; Canada has contributed in men and resources to the Plan, but we have gained enormously from the experiences we have had in working with our friends in India, Pakistan, Ceylon and other countries in creating new opportunities for them and for the benefit of mankind."

**Hon. C. F. Adermann, M.P., Minister for Primary Industry** (*Australian Commonwealth*): Mr. Chairman and Delegates, the debate upon this topic was well launched by our friend from the West Indies, Mr. Sinanan. The vital points have already been touched upon by the two preceding speakers. Mr. Sinanan said, in effect, that the hopes and aspirations of the Commonwealth countries were one. I would reply by saying that I should hope that our aims for the achievement of the hopes and aspirations of the Commonwealth were also one and that they would ultimately result in a greater Commonwealth brotherhood. We welcome suggestions by every representa-



tive here for meeting the needs of the underdeveloped countries. The purpose of this Conference is to hear such suggestions. The ability of this Conference to implement them is limited to the constitution under which we operate. Obviously, we are not in every case the responsible governments to make decisions, but we can discuss these matters to advantage. We can convey the message to our respective Governments and we can spread the germ of thought that we hope will ultimately come to fruition in the Commonwealth ideals.

The subject of economic co-operation dovetails to a great extent into that of development. When we say that a country is underdeveloped and that we seek to help to develop it, we presuppose that development is necessary. I add that what we desire is not only development but economic development. That is a vital approach that we should make, because development, without it being worth while to the country concerned, is of no consequence. The countries that we have in mind have seen tremendous political changes since the last war. They are new independent countries, countries with new ideals, new administrators and new plans for development. In effect, they are going through the transitional stage that Australia traversed—and Australia is still in the stage of development. We might even call ourselves underdeveloped, but Australia is not in our minds when we discuss this topic. Many of the countries that we have in mind have been amongst the most underprivileged in the world. The aftermath of the war brought many problems to them, as they struggled through the ferment of social and economic changes.

The underdeveloped territories have a strong desire to raise their low standard of living and are at a critical stage in their economic development. They are trying to raise investment from the level that barely maintains income standards to the level where economic development becomes self-sustained. In the long term, this implies the transformation of a predominantly agricultural economy into an economy predominantly occupied in industry, communication, trade and services. The initiation of this development requires an increase in the rate of investment and the capital stock per head. Investment in underdeveloped countries represents a much lower proportion of national income than it does in the more developed countries. Once this proportion has been raised to a level that more than covers population growth, then a regular increase in output per head can be assumed.

The formula is simple, Mr. Chairman, but the achievement of a higher rate of interest in the face of national poverty is extremely difficult. A high proportion of the work force in these underdeveloped countries is engaged in agriculture, because of the very fact of low productivity in agriculture. This suggests—our friend from the West Indies has admitted it—a domestic advancement in these industries. Typically, the farmer works primarily to feed himself and his family, with only a small surplus available for sale to obtain the few things that the farmer cannot produce. But the development of industries will raise the proportion of the population in the non-agricultural sector. Thus, it is necessary for agriculture to produce a greater food surplus to feed the growing urban population. What we require to do is to raise the productivity of agriculture concurrently with the expansion of industry. That, I feel, is a basic requisite for economic development.

Agricultural productivity must be raised not only to meet the increased urban demand but also to increase the income of the rural population. This is necessary for the expansion of industry, as its products must find growing markets in rural areas. Thus, economic growth proceeds through a growing interdependence of town and country. I cannot subscribe, and I speak generally, to a restriction policy, despite highly competitive markets today. We must apply common sense when we see that generally an industry is over-supplying its commodities to the available markets. But if we seek to apply a restriction policy in food production, then we take the negative rather than the positive approach. A restriction policy means food restriction, when more food is required for those who are undernourished. It means a capital restriction when more funds are required, because funds are limited by the amount produced. It means, too, a trade restraint, because we restrain our availability to buy your products as we restrain your ability to buy ours. So I think we should get back to the



comment of Lord Mills in an earlier debate when he said that the progress of each is affected by the prosperity of the others.

It is easy enough to mention the problems and to suggest the answer; but upon analysis it is evident that these countries, most of which depend upon primary production, require a substantial expansion if they are to make any investment to the much-needed development that they in the main should initiate themselves. In the first instance, they must provide extra food to cater for extra population, which in recent years has revealed increases to the order of 1.5 per cent. per annum in the Far East, excluding China, 1.9 per cent. in the Near East and 1.8 per cent. in Africa. Then, secondly, because of the beneficial effect upon the health of these nations of the efforts of the World Health Organization, another 5 per cent. of food is required to cater, at the rate of the ordinary diet, for the lower mortality rate. Additionally, there is the vital need for extra sales to provide accumulated capital for development. Hence, the task is not an easy one.

I confirm this view by quoting from the report of the Food and Agricultural Organization, which said:

“Investment resources are inadequate. Credit at reasonable rates of interest to finance improved methods of agriculture or current expenses, if available at all, usually meets only a fraction of the needs of farmers. The incentive to invest is often diminished by insecurity of land tenure and the great instability of agricultural prices, so that the farmer has little assurance that he will benefit from any increased effort or expense to improve his holding or increase his output.”

I make three comments, because three subjects are mentioned. Investment, as Sir Roland Robinson of the United Kingdom said, is the basic need for development. In this instance, investment has to be obtained by increasing production internally as well as by obtaining external funds from those who are able to lend. The second point, land tenure, is a matter with which the Governments of the countries must concern themselves. A confidence must be created to give the incentive to develop and to produce more, and to do this the security of land tenure to which the Food and Agricultural Organization referred is needed.

The third point—and it is a vital one—concerns instability of prices. This is a matter with which we are all concerned, and in respect of which Australia has taken the initiative, in company with other countries directly interested. With regard to this problem we are, in effect, a brother nation of New Zealand, because our interests are so akin. I think the Montreal Conference, to which so much reference has been made, was an important factor in our endeavours to secure stability in the unstable world of prices. We are prepared to assist in every way possible to secure stable and profitable prices for our commodities. I mentioned at the outset of my remarks that we wanted not only development, pure and simple, but that we wanted economic development. If a country is forced into the uneconomic position of producing goods that cannot be sold at profitable prices, then no one is happy, nor do we secure the kind of development that is needed.

Our Governments have a key role to play, Mr. Chairman, in raising the level of investment to a point at which economic development may proceed largely under its own impetus. This is particularly so with regard to the development of such capital works as railways, roads, ports, schools, hospitals and the like. In these tasks, owing to the shortage of people with technical skills, and of capital, the Governments of underdeveloped countries have had to rely, and will continue to rely, on the help of other friendly countries and international institutions. Australia has sought to play her part and, through the Colombo Plan, to which Mr. Holt has made reference, we have contributed very substantially. In addition, we have given assistance by way of research and the provision of technical knowledge. Our schools and universities are crowded out with students from other countries, and we have in our public service many cadets from overseas. We have tried to assist in every way possible through the Colombo Plan and by other means. I feel, Mr. Chairman, that Australia has measured up to its responsibilities.

In conclusion, let me say that the main objectives for the underdeveloped terri-



teries towards which the Commonwealth must work in the future are these. First, we must continue our efforts to develop agriculture, not only as a short-term project but also by continued progress and diversification—and I stress the latter word. Secondly, we must seek stability in export earnings so as to enable dependable planning of economic development. Stabilization of commodity prices is a main prerequisite. We must constantly seek for solutions in this field, with regard to all commodities. Thirdly, we must ensure the maintenance of technical and capital aid to underdeveloped countries, bearing in mind particularly the need to develop managerial and entrepreneurial skills. In this connexion I might say that it is not only necessary that capital should come to these territories, but also that it should be applied judiciously and wisely for the purposes envisaged. Fourthly, we must seek to expand the flow of private international capital into the territories. Fifthly, we must seek to achieve further industrialization. This will bring with it sweeping changes in the means and methods of production, and social changes arising from urbanization and the expansion of professional and trade groups. As industrialization proceeds we must direct our attention to the new marketing problems which will confront the territories. Sixthly, and finally, we must continue to work towards establishing a system of trading which will enable the underdeveloped territories to maintain and to increase export income, in order to cover import requirements of much-needed developmental goods.

These are developments from which all countries inside and outside the Commonwealth will benefit. Australia, as a member of the Commonwealth, will do her best in every possible way to achieve these ideals.

**Mr. Tapihana P. Paikea, M.P. (New Zealand):** Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates, it is with a deep sense of humility that I rise to take part in this discussion. Perhaps I may be permitted to digress for a moment or two. I want to pay a tribute to the States of Australia that we have visited, and to those people who have made our stay in Australia a most comfortable one, who have been at our beck and call, ready to do what we have asked of them. I extend my appreciation also to the various Governments that have extended their hospitality to us. The hospitality has been overwhelming. We have travelled throughout the length and breadth of Australia, and I want to congratulate the people and the Governments of Australia on their initiative, their enterprise and their achievements. I wish them the best for the future within the Commonwealth of Nations, and I hope, as I am sure every one of us does, that within the brotherhood of the Commonwealth our friend, Australia, will always be ready to help us at all times. If a country can give us the hospitality that we have received in recent weeks, surely to goodness it can give us something more.

As has already been stated by my colleague, Mr. S. W. Smith, New Zealand is a small country, with a population of 2,200,000 and an annual national income of £927,800,000. We have been called the "Shaky Isles", the islands of earthquakes. These terms may be apt, but let me say that, although we have our shaky isles, we have a stable government with a majority of one—and I am it!

I am, Sir, proud to be a New Zealander. From being an undeveloped race when the British people arrived we have come, with their guidance, tolerance and understanding, to our present position. The Maori people are said to have been savages in the past, but, through the treatment we have received, we have come to be a race whose members can stand around the piano with other New Zealanders and sing in unison, "God Bless New Zealand". We have proved ourselves in two world wars. We hope that that will be a beacon for some of the Delegates who are here.

I do not want to talk about internal policy, but of underdeveloped countries. The solution of the problem of the underdeveloped countries can be divided into three categories—increased development, increased agricultural productivity, improved social services. These three categories revolve around money. Here we are, brother members of the Commonwealth, and we talk about underdeveloped countries, we talk about economic co-operation and we talk about technical assistance by one country to another. When we want money to fight any nation that is against our way of life, we will find that money; yet to preserve our people we find that getting money is a very difficult job. Where are we going to look? How are we going to help to



develop the underdeveloped countries? Luckily for us in New Zealand, we are developed, as I said. But what about those other countries? What are we going to do about them? Are we going to leave them out of the orbit of the Commonwealth or are we going to embrace them within our family? There is only one thing to do. That thing is to create a better understanding between us as individuals and as races. In creating a better understanding between us as individuals within the Commonwealth there is one figure that we can look to—and that is our Queen. Let that be the beacon for us to follow.

Now I turn to our contribution to the Colombo Plan, which has been mentioned in this Conference today. New Zealand, with its population of 2,200,000, has contributed, since the inception of the Plan in 1950, £8,250,000. We are willing to do our best, provided that those who are receiving the benefits of the Colombo Plan are prepared to do their best. I do not want to talk about Australia's contribution, although I have the figures here, and the Canadians can speak for themselves. They have made their contributions. What is the happy medium between us? What have we to offer to those other countries that are without and within the orbit of the Commonwealth? Let me finish on this note, which is a proverb which has been quoted by my ancestors from time immemorial:

He toa taua, mate taua?  
 He toa piki pari, mate pari  
 He toa piki rakau,  
 He kai nate pakiaka tena  
 He toa ngaki kai nate huhu tena.  
 That means,  
 The warrior dies in battle  
 The cragsman dies on a cliff  
 The tree-climbing expert is food for the roots  
 But the food cultivator dies of old age  
 In providing sustenance for the people.

**Senator the Hon. Philip S. Hayward** (*South Africa*): Mr. Chairman, since the first European set foot on South African soil a certain measure of separation between the settler and the natives was held. Two vastly different races came in contact with each other, each firmly attached to its own language, traditions and culture.

When the European landed at the most southern point of Africa, the Bantu had just completed their migration from the north and had settled in areas most suitable to their needs. Later on the European, in turn, trekked northwards and took occupation of the unoccupied and mostly central areas of this country.

It is, however, of interest to note that not only was there, and is there still, a difference in tradition, language, culture and ideals between the Bantu and the European, but a vast difference exists between languages, traditions and cultures of various native groups living in this country. There is no doubt whatsoever that the vast majority of our Bantu population are as yet firmly attached to these divisions on ethnic and linguistic lines and that they have no desire to do away with their traditional, ethnic and language groups in order to form a single greater native community.

According to our latest estimates our Bantu population number approximately 9,606,000. The Bantu are known to be a social people and it is quite noticeable that, even in their urban residential areas, they prefer each to live with his own group. As far as the Bantu is concerned, there is no truer saying than "Birds of the same feather flock together".

Whilst there is a measure of separation even as far as the Bantu groups are concerned, each with its own homeland, the European from the earliest days of his settlement on this continent, due to the vast difference in culture and development, accepted and maintained linguistic, cultural and social separation. Segregation of the different racial groups in South Africa is thus not just an idea or whim of a specific government, but it was always and is as yet the tradition in South Africa. It was not something, as so many people outside South Africa maintain, which was discovered after the war by the present Government.



It is clear, however, that with such a comparatively large Bantu population, which has readily accepted the good intentions, education, and upliftment from its European guardian, but has yet maintained its true Bantu identity of its particular group, its culture and language, it is natural that problems in such a multiracial and vastly different community will arise. It is these problems which arise from a multiracial composition of the South African population, a position unique only to our country, that have attracted much attention in the post-war world.

Also during the post-war years it was fully realized that positive steps should be taken to develop the undeveloped Bantu areas more intensively, in such a manner as to make the Bantu part of such a development programme. The Bantu without a sense of responsibility, even to that which is their own, may in years to come, it may be argued, also have claims in matters concerning not only his own areas but also areas occupied and developed by the white man, areas where he has accepted temporary responsibility while offering his labour. It was this realization, and the firm belief that the only way to maintain the traditional way of life in South Africa and, what is more, the maintenance of the Europeans as a race in South Africa and to keep at least this part of Africa linked to the Western world, that led to a more positive approach to a traditional policy, that is, a policy of separate development, a policy which will not only safeguard the European or Western interests in South Africa, but one which will also create equal opportunities of development for the Bantu in their own areas.

We are often criticized on the ground that the programme which we have chosen for such development is a negative one and, for the unenlightened, it may well appear as such. We have, however, to keep in mind that most measures which are instituted to reach an ultimate positive goal, even if they are to entail conditions which have developed or may develop to the detriment of a country or community, are often termed negative. Order must first be created out of chaos before a positive development programme can be embarked upon.

In the limited time at my disposal I shall endeavour, however, to illustrate that these so-called negative aspects of our programme necessarily link up with the positive, separate development programme as a whole. In the past few years, considerable criticism was focused on steps which had been taken to curtail and alleviate chaotic conditions which had developed as far as Bantu housing in urban areas was concerned, and further still, on measures of control of Bantu population influx into the urban areas and the necessity for an orderly labour distribution throughout the country. It is of interest to note that the need for such measures was already felt before the present Government came to power, and legislation was in many cases already on the statute book. Unfortunately, the war intervened. As was apparently the case with the rest of the world, after the war our problems appeared to have doubled.

When the present Government took office it found the country with a Bantu housing shortage of 167,000 housing units, and to comply with the needs of local authorities up to 1961 a further 185,000 housing units would have to be made available. Thus, to alleviate the chaotic and unplanned housing conditions of the Bantu workers in our urban areas, a total of 353,000 houses had to be built. This was the result of uncontrolled influx, which led to overcrowding, and unhealthy slum conditions which gave rise to dissatisfaction and crime. It is a situation which is unhealthy and dangerous to any community, but more so in South Africa with its vastly differing population.

Well-planned Bantu residential areas were set up and healthy living conditions were tackled with vigour and determination in the urban areas. Well over 82,000 houses have already been completed and made available to the urban Bantu workers. Of the more than 12,000 families cramped into 2,474 premises in the so well-known black spots in Johannesburg, only 500 families are still to be removed to the new area. In the new area to which these past slum dwellings are being removed, 11,525 houses have as yet been made available. A fully serviced township, with shops, medical centres, schools, wide well-lit streets, and open playing grounds for the Bantu children, has arisen in but a few years. The contented families from Sophia Town now living in this beautiful township of Meadowlands have proved how wrong and unfair was the criticism to which I have referred.



The South African Government, I can assure you, is quite aware of the fact that for the development of the Bantu areas to a level at which they can give a fully fledged existence to the Bantu, besides agricultural development, it is also necessary that the economic system of the Bantu will have to change in these areas. It is fully realized that it is not possible for all Bantu to make a living out of agriculture, and the opportunity has to be developed for them to practice specialized economy to the full.

At this juncture I may perhaps mention that in the newly laid-out Bantu residential areas in the urban areas, where no European enterprise is permitted, the Bantu has already proved himself to be an able businessman. These opportunities will, however, also be made available in the Bantu areas. Whilst it is an accepted sound policy to decentralize industries, it is also our policy to encourage industries to be established on the borders of the Bantu areas. Together with the establishment of industries in the border areas, which will create greater labour possibilities for the Bantu workers close to their home areas, the policy of town settlement is being planned. Towns are being planned in order to make provision for normal residential and economic growth. The Bantu will have the opportunity to build the houses which fall within their economic ability. Although in the initial stages the inhabitants and labourers will have to make a living, all commercial, industrial and other economic possibilities will be reserved in these towns for the Bantu. By this means, as such towns develop, excellent opportunities will be created for enterprising Bantu to establish trading facilities, including butcheries, dairies, etc., for their fellow town inhabitants. An increasing demand also will arise for Bantu builders, carpenters, stonemasons, millers, shoemakers, mechanics, and so on, while Bantu with vocational training, such as doctors and advocates, will be able to make their services available to their own people.

Up to the present, twenty-five such towns have already been established, while a further thirty are in various stages of development. In connexion with the development of industrial and other undertakings in these towns, during our last session of Parliament legislation was passed whereby the establishment of a Bantu investment corporation, which will undoubtedly play a very important part in the economic uplift of the Bantu areas, has been made possible.

Since the promulgation of the Bantu Authorities Act in 1951, 335 tribal or communal authorities, twenty-six district authorities, nineteen regional authorities and one territorial authority have been set up, making a total of 381. The setting up of these authorities is, however, not yet complete, but it is anticipated that the maximum number which can be set up will be reached within the next year.

Only now do the Bantu realize more and more that it is in their own interests to implement communal services. They are now anxious to tackle services such as the building of schools, the establishment of co-operative schemes, land improvement and reclamation, the building of dams, the improvement of their herds, and the construction of roads and bridges. Not only have the authorities shown that they wish to perform these services, but they have also shown proof that they are able to do this. Already they have implemented such services in a satisfactory manner. To those who have no experience of the thinking and the reactions of our South African Bantu to certain ideas of development, these facts may mean little. We are, however, proud of the progress that has been made in this short time. Previously, where the European thought it his duty to improve the Bantu areas, he could often expect to find that his good intentions for development would be undone. For instance, where dams were built in Bantu areas, or grazing camps were fenced in order to introduce grazing rotation and save the soil, these development measures were often considered to be crazy ideas of the European—ideas which, in any case, were a nuisance, and thus disapproval had to be shown by their destruction. Now, where the Bantu are drawn into the development programme, that which previously was found to be of no use and was left to become a ruin is—of their own accord—being rebuilt.

The same applies to our Bantu education system, which was so bitterly criticized throughout the world. Not only are we proud of the fact that our critics were proved wrong, but the Bantu community, as such, is proud of its part in the success and education of their children. Since Bantu education was taken over by the Government



from the Provincial administration, and a greater share in the development thereof given to the Bantu community, the education of Bantu children has more than doubled. While, in the previous thirty or forty years approximately 700,000 Bantu children attended school, this figure has risen since 1953 to more than one and a quarter million. Also, the Bantu parents have a share in this development. They are elected to school boards and committees. Approximately 40,000 Bantu parents serve on these committees and boards—a service which steadily, but surely, gives status to the community as a whole.

In this respect, opportunities have been availed of by the Bantu. Whereas previously many European teachers taught at Bantu schools, where possible these have been replaced by capable Bantu teachers. About 34,000 Bantu men and women teachers now appreciate the opportunity of being of service to their own people. Although the European, for quite a time still, will have to lead and advise also as far as education is concerned, it is encouraging to note that the Bantu are rapidly progressing under the guardianship of the European, and that quite a number of Bantu school inspectors and sub-inspectors fill positions previously held by Europeans.

For quite a time yet the guiding hand of the European in this development programme will have to remain, but as the Bantu learns, and takes responsibility in the service of his own community, the European hand will be withdrawn. I make bold to say that only through this policy of separate development can we in South Africa ultimately ensure the existence of the white man on this continent and build a happy, contented and self-respecting community, black and white, as good neighbours.

**Shri H. N. Mukerjee, M.P. (India):** Mr. Chairman, we are discussing a subject which, if tackled wisely and effectively, can lend real content and meaning to the Commonwealth. I welcome the note of urgency which has, in general, marked this afternoon's discussions, and especially the assurance of good intentions from the hon. gentleman who spoke on behalf of the United Kingdom. I do not hesitate to say that many of us in India, and I am sure elsewhere, still find much to cavil at in the Commonwealth, but as a large, multinational area of agreement it can make its contribution to world peace and all-round development, if the problems of underdeveloped territories are sympathetically examined and accompanied by action.

We have had with us my friend the Duke of Abercorn who, unfortunately, I do not see here at the moment. I have often thought, when we were going about with him in our company, of a story about an ostler who met a duke at the hunt. "The beauty of 'unting, yer Grace," he said, "is that it brings together people who do not hotherwise meet." We are a very miscellaneous company. We belong to different countries. We look different. We speak different languages. Perhaps, also, we think different thoughts, but we have come together here not merely to shake hands but to realize, vividly and directly, the nature of the Commonwealth today, which has changed in a dynamic world. It is no longer an empire. It is no longer British. When, next year, Nigeria becomes a fully independent member of the Commonwealth, we shall have five European-stock nations and six Afro-Asian nations in the Commonwealth. It is a changing and growing association and it is in so far as that goes that it has some attraction for us who come from the coloured portions of the world.

Until quite recently, as the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, once said, it was like a kind of large country house with Indians in the servants' hall, the kitchen and the pantry. Very rarely, some of us were given the privilege of a cup of tea in the drawing room. All that has changed and today we go about the world holding our head high along with the others who are emerging into freedom. That is something that has brought about a qualitative change in the whole concept of the Commonwealth.

When we discuss the question of underdeveloped areas, this stupendous fact has to be borne in mind. There is, today, a new awareness astir in the world. Millions of people are now asking for the good things of life, and they are determined to get them. They are no longer content with pie in the sky when they die. This desire is every whit legitimate and just. If it is thwarted for long, it might produce an explosive situation beside which the Russian and the Chinese revolutions might look like a tea party.



Heaven forbid that such an explosion should take place, for the world today is a neighbourhood and trouble spreads like a forest fire. Statesmanship must step in and do the right thing by our peoples, especially those who are in the underdeveloped parts of the world.

The report on the social situation in the world, which is published by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, recently stated that in 1939 five human beings out of every ten were undernourished, but that fifteen years afterwards, when there had been a gigantic advance in production, six out of every ten were permanently undernourished. Therefore, it was only in accordance with the fitness of things that the United Nations passed a resolution last December, asking member States to review what they had done to assist underdeveloped nations and to give a further impetus to the cause of co-operative action for improving the conditions of such peoples.

Recently the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund decided to set up an International Development Association, but it is doubtful whether there is yet a real appreciation of the mammoth need to assist underdeveloped peoples. That is why I say that, since we have come together from different parts of the Commonwealth, we should make a genuine move towards this end.

Australia has taken the initiative in developing the basic structure of the Colombo Plan, which links contributor and recipient in fruitful partnership. In spite of shortcomings, we recognize that it is a sort of pilot project whose scope should be extended and liberalized. There are long-term and short-term schemes of assistance which should be determined as soon as ever that is possible. In an underdeveloped country natural and human resources are used for economic purposes to a very limited degree only. We suffer from inadequacies in agriculture, and from inadequacies in our economic structure, a shortage in essential factors of production, and limitations on account of our international position—the hangover of the colonial system which we are trying to get rid of permanently. There are demographic, social and administrative problems, also, to deal with. India is trying hard to emerge from underdevelopment. We are trying to improve our agriculture and farming, to build heavy industry and to shake off whatever colonial hangovers still persist, and to tackle our population problems and social backwardness. It is a long and difficult job. The task must be even more long and difficult for our sister countries which are trying now to emerge really and truly into the light.

The Indian Finance Minister, when on tour recently, said that what is necessary is trade with aid. We want to continue trade. We want to develop our trade relationships and, at the same time, have the facilities and certain objective conditions which would mean the real development of that trade. There is sometimes a sort of objection against our country that we have over-ambitious plans, that we are investing the State with extraordinary powers. Our Finance Minister said that all that we are trying to achieve is the doubling of *per capita* national income over a period of twenty-five years—from about 55 dollars per annum in 1950–51 to 100 dollars per annum in 1975. This is the so-called ambitious scheme which we have. If this is to be called ambitious, if India and other countries are said to be pursuing a socialist policy in order to achieve what is considered by some people to be an ambitious scheme, if this is considered to be an argument for not giving sufficient assistance, God help those who are now thinking in terms of expanding the area of democratic life. I say that this is an extremely urgent matter. After all, the colonial territories which are now emerging into freedom have been the agrarian hinterland of a metropolitan economy for too long, and perhaps the nations of the West which are advanced have some expiation to make in this regard. That is why I say, Sir, that this is a matter of very great urgency, which has to be tackled with all the sympathy and imagination which can be mustered.

From a short-term point of view, Sir, there are certain instant dangers which have got to be countered. Most of the underdeveloped territories depend for their livelihood on primary products. Lack of complementary and intra-regional diversification of production has been a special feature of the colonial character of the economy of these territories. There are also territories whose economy may be called a one-commodity economy—sugar in one, cocoa in another, and rubber in a third. In



India, we still depend too much for foreign exchange earnings on jute and tea. The latest United Nations world economic survey points out that, in 1958, export earnings of primary-producing countries fell by 7 or 8 per cent. compared with the earnings for 1957. This drop, reinforced by a continuing rise in prices for manufactured goods, meant a big loss in import capacity for these countries. It is very well known that, in periods of development, an underdeveloped country must draw from the world market more than it sends abroad. Attempts to reduce this dependence on the value of commodity exports have been made, but so far without any very significant success.

A matter which was discussed earlier, when the subject of economic co-operation was being debated here, was the European Common Market and the European Free Trade Area. They are now producing a situation in which the commodity economies of the backward countries—the underdeveloped countries—are getting a further jolt. We know that, next January, senior officials of the finance ministries of the different Commonwealth countries are to meet in London to see what can be done about this. I hope that that Conference will send out a sort of S.O.S., that the new danger to the underdeveloped countries, which is represented by the work of the European Common Market and the European Free Trade Area, will be really and properly counteracted, and that trade with aid will be practised by the advanced countries.

Since I have been in Australia I have sometimes gained an impression that people here think that India and other countries which are similarly situated are not doing their bit in advancing by their own strength, and that our stupendous population problem is due to the fact that we are proliferating profusely and not behaving as we should. As a matter of fact, the rate of increase of the Indian population is only 1.3 per cent. The rate in Australia, Canada and the United States is higher. The United States, however, can support six times its existing population, and we cannot. Australia and Canada have vast expanses of unutilized land. Perhaps some of us could migrate to the United States or Australia or Canada, but we know how things stand in that respect at the present time. At any rate, we can claim—and this has been conceded by observers from the West—that India is the first modern country to enunciate a national policy of limiting population and reducing its rate of increase. This was said by Professor Julian Huxley, who went to India and found out what we are trying to do in this regard. Therefore I say, Sir, that we are trying to do whatever we can. But our position is difficult and our potentialities are limited.

The world cannot remain part-developed and an even larger part underdeveloped, except at its peril. Much less can the Commonwealth continue on those very unsatisfactory terms. Therefore, it is necessary to realize the importance of help to the underdeveloped countries. In this regard, I have discovered how, even in Australia, the newspapers have been taking a serious view of what has been happening in the underdeveloped countries. I noticed an editorial in the *Sydney Morning Herald* of 17th October in which it was said that it is not arms, still less the threat of war, that is going to win the goodwill of the underdeveloped peoples. It went on to say that real and true assistance must be given to the underdeveloped peoples.

We find, Sir, that calculations have been made by important economists like Professor Bettelheim of the Sorbonne, in Paris. He has said that the use for peaceful purposes of the funds spent on arms would permit the backward countries to catch up with the advanced countries within twenty or twenty-five years. If that is so—and it seems to be the fact—it is very necessary to realize how important it is to have peace in the world and to be able to divert the moneys which are now expended on non-peaceful pursuits, so that at least something may be done to help the underdeveloped peoples. In this connexion, I read, in one of the Australian newspapers, an article written by Mrs. Barbara Ward—I presume that she belongs to the Labour Party in Great Britain. She said that either the wealthy countries of the West must act now to mobilize their resources on a scale needed by the emergent territories—at least \$5,000 million a year—or the future holds catastrophe, anarchy and the risk of Communism as certainly as it holds tomorrow's sunrise. She went on to say that it is the duty of the countries of the Christian West to give 1 per cent. of their national income to help the underdeveloped countries of the world. I hate to think that you



will help only because you fear that Communism will advance. If you do, Communism will take over.

If you cannot wipe the tears off the eyes of people in agony, and if Communism can do that, then I should say "God bless Communism". I know, Sir, that I speak here as one who happens to be a Communist, and perhaps the one black sheep in a very white fold. I know that the Commonwealth is not very favourable towards Communism and most of its leaders are anti-Communist, but I do not want the sort of negative attitude which says that, unless you help the underdeveloped peoples, Communism will take over; therefore let us give something by way of a wise generosity to help the underdeveloped peoples. Do not do that. I say: Go ahead with schemes for a real war on poverty. If you believe in capitalism, cherish that belief and have competitive peaceful co-existence with the socialist countries and see that at least the territories comprised in the Commonwealth are inhabited by people who are content.

That is why I feel that something should be done very seriously in regard to this matter. There are countries that are now emerging to freedom, or have emerged only lately, that carry a wound in their heart. I feel it my duty to remind you of that. We have suffered for so long and we are only now slowly emerging into the light. There is a wound in our heart and that wound has to be understood sympathetically. That wound has to be sought to be alleviated by efforts which today the more advanced countries can make. That is why I emphasize, with all the strength at my command, the absolute urgency of giving the maximum possible help to underdeveloped areas in the Commonwealth.

**Hon. Enche Tajudin bin Ali, M.P. (*Federation of Malaya*):** Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates, I should like to pay a special tribute to Australians, both in Australia and in Malaya, and to the Australian Government for their kindness and generosity in making our stay in Australia a happy and a memorable one.

Australia and other Commonwealth countries have done a lot for countries in Asia, particularly Malaya. Today, Malaya has some 2,300 students studying in various fields in Australia. Whilst here, they will not only gain knowledge but will also appreciate the way of life of the Australian people. I, on behalf of the people and the Government of Malaya, wish to thank the Australians for the kindness they have shown.

The shortage of capital for industrial development is a problem that is not confined to one region only; it is, of course, world-wide. In so far as private capital for industrial development is concerned, it is so scarce that investors can afford to choose for themselves the countries in which they are prepared to invest. It is perhaps not adequately realized that, under such conditions, the countries of this region are competing for such capital as is available—not only among themselves but also with other underdeveloped countries in the rest of the world. It therefore follows that those countries which are able to offer the best terms for such capital are the ones most likely to succeed in attracting it. But it should be noted that, when deciding what constitutes the best terms, the overseas investor must take into consideration such questions as the political stability of the country concerned, and labour responsibility, as well as the more obvious factors of taxation and the repatriation of capital and dividends.

Malaya has received an encouraging response to its invitation to overseas investors to invest capital in that country. Our Government had offered incentives for the investment of capital, either local or foreign, in new industry. The overriding factor—the paramount consideration from an investment point of view—was the investors' assessment of the country's political stability and its general attitude towards foreign capital. We believe in the virtues of free and private enterprise, and we have not hesitated to proclaim this belief publicly and as often as necessary.

Eighty years ago Malaya was a land of practically unbroken virgin jungle. The population numbered something like 300,000 souls. Today the population is twenty-two times as great, numbering approximately 7 million people. I must hasten to add, however, that this has largely occurred through immigration, not through natural



increase. With this sudden and sharp increase in the problem of overpopulation, something must be done, not only in Malaya but throughout the Asian countries at the earliest possible date.

Sir, during the debate on economic co-operation within the Commonwealth, which I followed very keenly, certain speakers said that the subject of capital development should be dealt with separately. The point was made that the countries that are making good progress ought to be helped first; that first priority should not be extended to the underdeveloped countries. Sir, it is a sorry state of affairs if goods in developed countries have to be destroyed. I am positive that within ten or fifteen years railway vehicles and other manufactured vehicles in certain countries will have to be destroyed and thrown into the sea.

Malaya was devastated by enemy action during World War II. Our bridges, roads and hospitals were destroyed. Our economy was at a dead halt after the war. Then came another catastrophe. In 1948 there was a Communist uprising to overthrow the Government. Today we are an independent country within the Commonwealth of Nations. Due to the war years, and the Communist uprising, we have indeed a very heavy burden to shoulder. Our economy has improved steadily. The Government has put up a five-year development scheme with a view to raising our living standard. To complete this scheme, we need very close co-operation from progressive members of the Commonwealth of Nations. Surely we are not seeking charity, for during the war years our country as a whole was fully utilized by the allied forces. In Australia there are beautiful war memorials, and in Malaya one sees thousands of tombstones in graveyards where servicemen are buried. These perpetuate the memory of the brave ones who sacrificed their lives defending the Mother Country and the Commonwealth as a whole.

Our people are looking with very keen eyes to have modern and essential services restored. Malaya is in a strategic position and it is a world producer of rubber and tin. Thus, it will play an important part within the Commonwealth. If Malaya falls ill, the sickness will not be felt in Malaya alone; sooner or later it will certainly and surely spread throughout the Commonwealth. I must submit, Sir, that in the last analysis the salvation of any country, whether economic, political, or otherwise, depends on those human and moral resources which, after all, are the real wealth of a country; whether in peace or in war, there should not be fear and suspicion between our brotherly nations. When such a spirit prevails, I am sure that beyond the shadow of today will lie the sunshine of tomorrow.

**Captain F. Bruce Robertson, M.C., M.P. (*Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland*):** Mr. Chairman, I hope I may be forgiven if, in attempting to keep strictly within the bounds of the subject under discussion, I appear to oversimplify, as a farmer is wont to do. I would say that probably a study of the well developed countries of the Commonwealth and a comparison with them afford the best means of examination of the problems of the underdeveloped territories of the Commonwealth.

I would ask Members to think to themselves what, in fact, comprises a well developed or one of the better developed countries. I would contend, Sir, firstly, that it must have, not only an adequate, if not an abundant range of natural resources including manpower, but it must have developed these resources to an advanced degree. Secondly, I would suggest that its citizens must have at least a high degree of literacy and that its educational facilities must be adequate and up to date, not only on the university level but as regards teacher-training and technical and technological facilities.

Thirdly, its people not only must know how to work and have the necessary basic skills but they must also have a real willingness to work and to look upon work as a major part of a normal man's life. Fourthly, I consider that its people must be advanced beyond a fear of hunger and the basic standard of their agriculture must be far above a mere subsistence level.

Fifthly, I would contend that its people must be healthy and protected from major endemic diseases such as malaria, bilharziasis, leprosy, and other scourges so



that they can attain and maintain a high standard of efficiency. Sixthly, I would suggest that, with stable and incorruptible government, its communications and its marketing systems must have been developed at least to ensure access to markets at an economic level.

Lastly, I would say that, in order to be called a well developed country, it must have achieved some balance between its agriculture, its mining and its industries. I put my argument in this manner, because I think that a consideration of those main factors which I have enumerated brings us face to face with the basic needs and the problems of the underdeveloped countries.

This summary clearly indicates that the greatest need and problem of these territories are practical knowledge and skill which is to be gained through education. Through education, the peoples of these countries will automatically gain ambition and expect and demand of life a better way of living through increased efficiency. All of us who represent underdeveloped territories are faced with the same needs. But I will not say that they should be met by the shaking of alms bags. I would just like to state candidly how I think the more fortunate territories can help us to a very great degree without, necessarily, the expenditure of vast sums of money.

Amongst our needs I would first place more teachers and more scientific and technical skill, so that we can put ourselves in a position better to help ourselves. We need more technical experts to improve and bring up to date our methods of agriculture, of mining and of industry. Through better, more adequate and more modern education we can train our people to a greater sense of responsibility and skill in production and so ensure for them the better way of life to which I have already referred. This way of life, I would contend, is achievable only through a greater application to work and by the application of increased skills. Through reaching a much improved standard of national income we can practise self-help and, finally, ourselves provide at least some capital for our development from savings. That must be our main target and objective.

The chief problem of my own country may well be understood if I state that about one-third of a million people, mainly Europeans, assisted by ten thousand Asians and, I regret to say, not much more than a handful—though a rapidly growing handful—of Africans are obliged to provide adequate medical services and higher education for 7 million Africans. I think that Delegates will concede that that is no mean task for us to be aiming at. I would claim that we have already met with some considerable success in this onerous task to which we are devoted. Our task is so to raise the standards of the masses that they may earn better wages and take an ever increasing part in sharing this burden.

**Mr. Denis N. Abii, M.H.R. (Government Whip, Federation of Nigeria):** Mr. Chairman, I really find myself in difficulty in addressing this august House. I shall commence by telling a little story. A very big man in my country had three wives. They were put to bed and the chief went out to search for three nurses. Eventually, he collected three. In my country, a nurse has to be given all facilities to enable her to be happy in looking after a child. But after a year she is submitted to a test in order to see how well she has done. At the end of the year, he collected all his relatives and they came along to examine these nurses and their children. It was found that one of the children was badly neglected. Before the assemblage of people the child's nurse started to cry. They said, "What is ailing you?" The nurse had difficulty in expressing the fact that she had not taken proper care of her own child, and that when she saw the beautiful children of the other two nurses she began to cry. When the relatives had eaten and drunk, they called the nurse and called her parents, because the parents had come to enjoy the festivities over what their children had done. The relatives said to the parents of the bad nurse, "Here is your child and here is the child that she has taken care of. The ill-tended child is not dead. Would you yourselves look into it and find out what to do?"—I shall leave my reference at that. I leave it as a problem for somebody to find an answer.

The problem of the underdeveloped territories of the Commonwealth is an important subject for discussion, and it is of very great interest to me to note that



the Mother Country and the senior members of the Commonwealth are very happy to take part in this discussion. So the discussion will be very tranquil. Nobody is going to quarrel. It is a matter for each country to say what she regards as her own problems. Discussions of this kind take place almost every two years, and as it has been discovered here today that the senior members of the Commonwealth have been taking proper care of the neighbouring countries, it becomes necessary that we, who have no senior member near us, should come out very frankly and conspicuously to find why none of these senior members is looking after us.

I am from Nigeria, which has an area of 375,000 square miles and a population of 40 million. We are a very proud people and we have found that we are very rich. We have all the minerals of which one can think, we have all the vegetable wealth imaginable, and we have great human resources. We are certainly very proud, and we are doing our best. The last speaker analysed very well the need and conditions for development. In Nigeria, we have done everything that is possible, and we are happy to tell you that, even if you have been forgetting us, from today you should know that we exist. The Mother Country takes very great care of us. Her Majesty the Queen thinks of Nigeria. Only a few months hence we shall be no longer an auxiliary member but a full member of your Commonwealth of Nations.

One of the problems added to the difficulties of underdeveloped countries is insufficiency of knowledge about them. This great Commonwealth of Australia, the people of which have done their best to keep us happy, has every class of school and every kind of university, but only in one of them, of all that I have visited, could I find any record about Nigeria. For your information, about fifteen years ago I started to teach the history and geography of Australia. I think Delegates will agree with me that without the teaching of the geography and history of other countries of the Commonwealth there will be no understanding of their problems and no sympathy for their people. The true history and geography of the small countries should be included in the curricula of the schools of the larger countries. I recommend, therefore, that one way of tackling our problems is by including the teaching of the history and geography of all members of the Commonwealth in the curricula of your schools.

I now proceed to deal with our problems, as I saw them before coming to Australia. Very simply, I say that Nigeria has only three problems for you to solve. The first is that we have not been able to mechanize our agriculture. We have all the raw materials we need, but our efforts are partly wasted if we cannot make full use of them. The second is that we need industrialization, and the third is that, while Nigeria has the average standard of education, it is very badly off in the fields of scientific and technical education. It is reasonable, I think, to say that these are also the problems of other underdeveloped countries. For that reason, it will be necessary to find out whether or not those problems can be solved. How much are we contributing today, and what do we expect the senior members of the Commonwealth to do?

Mechanization of agriculture is a very simple matter for the senior members of the Commonwealth. Australia, from what I have seen, can contribute money and can do much to give us technical education, because Australia has this in abundance. Australia and Canada can very well put their heads together and solve the problems of the underdeveloped territories. In saying this, I must emphasize that Nigeria does not beg for it. We believe that we have proved our country to be credit-worthy. Every penny that is spent to develop Nigeria will be repaid threefold. To give an example of that, I point out that only a few years ago the Shell Company came to Nigeria and started to drill for oil. For two years now, Nigeria has been exporting crude oil. Only last week another find of oil in commercial quantities was reported from Western Nigeria at Ughelli.

So when we speak of the development of the underdeveloped countries of the Commonwealth, we do not say that the senior members of the family should stop the development of their own countries. We say that you can put part of the money you are using for your own development into these countries to make them also productive for you in the near future. The senior members can help the underdeveloped countries more without neglecting their own countries. If they do not develop their own countries, they will cease to be senior members of the family and will be looking for help



from outside. That is not our desire. We think that the senior members should, as far as possible, place their countries on a better footing, but should also bring finance to the underdeveloped countries. By so doing, as time goes on the senior members will be repaid. That is what we mean.

Another point with education that I want to emphasize is that the Colombo Plan was devised by some good members of the family, but it does not cover any country in Africa. I am very happy to know that the people who planned it have accepted the need to extend the Colombo Plan to other countries of the Commonwealth. Therefore, I will not waste my time by saying that they should do so and do so as early as possible. If the circumstances in which you started the Colombo Plan do not allow you to extend it immediately to other countries, would you kindly think out another plan on the same footing for the other countries?

There is another point I want to make on the question of education. We have experienced the climate of Australia and have met some of the people, and we can say that Australia is a good country for people from other member nations of the family who can come and do their studies here. But living expenses and travelling costs are very heavy. Does that excuse Australia and other senior members if they do not give help to other people of the Commonwealth? If you cannot make it possible for people from other parts of the Commonwealth to enter your universities here, would you then build technical schools in these underdeveloped countries? In a few years, that country would be able to pay back the money you used.

What I am saying is that there is no need to waste words. Every year we come together and say what we want. But now I humbly implore this Commonwealth Parliamentary Association to form a committee at once. The committee could be called the Commonwealth Development Committee. Its function would be to send out trade missions to all countries that are considered to be underdeveloped. These trade missions would report on the possibilities that exist for mechanizing agriculture, for affording help in education, and to further industrialization. They would ascertain what raw materials existed in each country and would then be able to recommend the action to be taken to afford the greatest assistance in the distribution of labour and to obtain increased productivity of industries. This would lead to the living standards of the people being raised.

Speakers here have said that, if you are helping somebody else, you are certainly helping yourself. If we go back through history we can see what has caused empires to fall. Australia has worked very hard and its production is increasing. If Australia were to decide to accumulate its resources, somebody would jump on you and take them away. A country should not accumulate these things for her people alone. It is foolish to say that if you can satisfy yourself, that is all you need do. I believe that satisfaction of self today must include satisfaction of your neighbours, if you are to enjoy your peace.

**Dr. Sheng Nam Chin, M.L.A. (Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Health, Singapore):** Mr. Chairman, it is probably due to the way in which the Commonwealth has grown that we tend to think of it as a group of industrialized countries. The senior and long-standing members are industrialized—the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. But they account for only 30 per cent. of the people who live within the Commonwealth of Nations. Nearly 490 million of the 650 million people in the Commonwealth live in underdeveloped countries. So, it is only right and proper that the problems of underdeveloped countries should be given increasing importance at these gatherings of representatives of Commonwealth countries.

The general problems of underdeveloped countries can be summarized in this way. The people of underdeveloped countries are planning, working and striving for a higher standard of living and a better way of life. In this hard and vital task they face certain common problems. Problems common to them are large and rapidly growing populations, inadequate natural resources relative to needs, a low rate of capital formation, and lack of technological know-how. These four factors are in fact interrelated, affecting each other in a cumulative interactive process. They all hope to



achieve a breakthrough, which would lead them out of stagnation or even regression. They hope for a take-off into a process of growth and expansion.

The problems and aspirations of my country, Singapore, are no different from those of other underdeveloped countries, except that our problems are more acute and we have probably less time than other underdeveloped countries to solve them. We have a large and rapidly growing population. In the ten years from 1947 to 1957 our population increased by over 500,000 or some 54 per cent. Our present population is nearly 1½ million people, and they must live and work on an island with an area of only 210 square miles. The rate of increase of population per annum is 4.3 per cent., which is about the highest rate in the world. In underdeveloped countries with large agricultural populations, some of the population increase can at least be temporarily hidden away. But we are a city-state—a teacup that can be smashed by the problems created by this rapidly increasing population.

Even more significant than the absolute size and increase of our population is its structure. More than half of the population is under 21 years of age. For the next ten years or so, until 1970, 100 young people will reach their sixteenth birthday every day, and will enter the labour market looking for employment. The major task of the Singapore Government is to channel the potential energy of these young people into productive employment. Manpower is an economic resource, but it differs from natural resources in that it is inseparably linked with men who are living personalities. It is also an asset that cannot be stored. Because of the human element, unless a country's manpower resources, which in the final analysis are most precious, are productively utilized, social and political ills must follow.

Owing to Singapore's position as an international trading centre, a total of 283,000 people, or 60 per cent. of our total working population of 472,000, are employed in commerce and providing services. But commerce cannot expand rapidly enough to provide employment for all our young people looking for work. As we have no land for agricultural development, the only way of providing work for our people is through rapid industrialization. Our hopes for rapid industrialization are not founded only on need and desire. We have some advantages that can be useful in the solving of our problems. Unlike other underdeveloped countries, Singapore is well endowed with basic facilities. We have an extensive system of good access roads, two modern power stations capable of meeting both consumer and industrial demands, a fine harbour, an international airport and excellent distribution facilities for goods.

These basic facilities were developed to serve commercial needs, but they can be as well used for industrialization. However, it is necessary to improve upon these facilities all the time, and for this purpose development funds are needed. Government revenue resources are not adequate, and so we have put into effect drastic economies in State administration expenditure. But this is not enough, and the developed Commonwealth countries can assist Singapore, by making either grants or loans for the expansion of basic facilities.

Like other underdeveloped countries, Singapore lacks capital for industrialization, but in rather an unusual way. As far as commercial capital is concerned, money is readily available for profitable trading transactions. What Singapore lacks is a sufficient amount of industrial capital and know-how, especially in the field of industrial management. Owing to unfamiliarity and, in a sense, a conservative attitude, financiers are reluctant to invest in industrial enterprises. The problem, therefore, is one of transforming commercial capital and trading skills into industrial capital and technological know-how.

The best way to help in the transformation of commercial capital into industrial capital is by what economists call "demonstration-effect". Investment in industries by capital from industrially developed countries will create the psychological conditions for local capital to enter industries. This is essential if the technical and industrial know-how of the industrialized countries is to be spread in the underdeveloped countries. This is, in fact, a vital extension of the schemes to spread industrial and technical know-how under the Colombo Plan.



Commonwealth countries can assist Singapore by providing more training facilities in engineering, science and business management for our students. In this respect Australia, New Zealand and the United Kingdom have been generous in providing scholarship awards in the past. Singapore hopes that these three countries and our Asian Commonwealth neighbours will continue to provide such help in the future, and, perhaps, on a more extensive scale.

However, the provision of technical training for our students is only one aspect of our problem, though an important one. The other aspect concerns entrepreneurship. Though university and polytechnic training gives a man technical and academic knowledge, it does not necessarily transform him into a good factory manager. Technical training has to be processed by practical experience. Underdeveloped countries need efficient industrial managers. They are particularly important for the success of State-owned industries. It would be a great help if our young men could be sent to work for a period of time in some of the industrial corporations of developed Commonwealth countries, such as Australia. At these industrial corporations our young managers could pick up more about management without the great waste that is inevitable if all their knowledge is to be obtained by trial and error.

These two major problems, the supply of capital and of know-how, can be solved by joint enterprises of local and foreign capital. Joint participation is important in Singapore, where local commercial capital hesitates to go into the industrial field partly because of a lack of skill in industrial management. Participation by foreign firms will act as a catalyst in transforming our commercial capital to industrial capital. But this is something about which the Governments of industrialized Commonwealth countries cannot do very much. Inter-governmental help has to take other forms.

It is generally accepted today that the provision of roads, railways, et cetera, is the responsibility of governments. Institutions such as the International Bank have channelled a good amount of capital for the development of basic facilities in underdeveloped countries. Within the Commonwealth the United Kingdom Government finances the development of these facilities with funds provided under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts. For the period 1956 to 1960, the United Kingdom Government has provided for the expenditure of £220 million to develop basic facilities in United Kingdom dependent territories and newly independent countries of the Commonwealth. The populations of these territories and countries total about 91,700,000, so that the projected expenditure works out at about 3s. 5d. sterling, or 1 dollar and 45 cents Malayan, *per capita* per year. Relative to needs, this sum appears most inadequate. It is, however, encouraging to note that the United Kingdom Government has extended the period to 1964 and has raised the amount of money provided for development to £315 million. I suggest that such assistance be increased in the future, and that it should be a total Commonwealth effort. It should become an all-out effort by the highly industrialized and wealthy members of the Commonwealth to help the poorer partners who are facing an almost impossible task.

**Hon. Norman F. Harris, M.L.C. (Kenya):** Mr. Chairman, I come from what is, I hope, a developing country, and one which, in terms of the Commonwealth, is small. It is so small, Sir, that when I was asked to become a Delegate to this Conference I wondered whether I could possibly compete in debate, as a colonial minnow, with the whales of the Dominions and the United Kingdom. I took heart from the fact that on our tour, a tour for which we are all most grateful to the States and the Commonwealth of Australia, I went into a very large power station. It was a tremendous power station, with generators and all the other paraphernalia humming away. It was, I believe, the biggest power station in the southern hemisphere—at least, my guide told me so. In the middle of this great power station was one little man in charge, and I noticed that in his hip pocket he had a tiny pocket torch. I asked him why he had it, and he said it was in case the electricity failed. So, Sir, as the little pocket torch of the Commonwealth, I have the effrontery to address this Conference.

I would like to say, first, how indebted we are in the colonial empire—and I can speak only for Africa—to the United Kingdom for the assistance she has afforded us through the Colonial Development Welfare Fund and other funds. But, Sir, listening



to the debate today it seems to me that there is a misconception about what is really required in the underdeveloped territories. The problem, I believe, is far more psychological than financial. What we have to avoid in these discussions and in our daily lives when we get back to our countries is dividing the Commonwealth into "haves" and "have-nots". There is, Sir, a great tendency on the part of many of those who are underdeveloped to be rather too fond of saying, "Give, give, give". Also it seems to me that there is a tendency among those who are already developed to believe that all they have to do is to produce money. They salve their consciences and believe they have done their job.

An exception to the "Give, give, give" attitude is the speech of the Nigerian delegate, and I should like to thank my friend, Mr. Abii, for a most constructive contribution to this debate. If I may, I should like to return to Mr. Abii a little later. At the moment I shall turn to the more wealthy countries who believe that all that is necessary is money and not understanding. I have only to point to the example of our sister nation, the United States of America. I suppose that never in history has a country poured out largesse as the United States has done in the past few years. I think nobody will deny that the popularity of the United States in the world is not in proportion to her generosity. In fact, one gets rather cynical in Africa to see the dollars pouring in and to get the reaction of the people who receive the dollars.

So, Sir, I believe that what we want is not so much money, but understanding and sympathy from the older and more experienced nations. I would remind the Conference that the great industrial countries of Great Britain and America and the other great industrial countries of the world have been developed by hard work and initiative and not by largesse from somebody else. I believe that the undeveloped and developing countries of the Commonwealth have to learn a lesson from the older countries, and get down to helping themselves more and using the experience of those who are willing to pass that experience on to them. I believe, Sir, that if we could get understanding from those older countries—and I appeal here especially to the United Kingdom who holds our destiny in her hands—many of our problems would disappear.

I believe that, if we had this understanding, we would probably get a political stability which would provide an atmosphere for a greater investment of private capital—and it is private capital that we want. It is available. It is now coming, at any rate to my country. It could come in faster, if we could get a better atmosphere of political calmness. We have economic problems, political problems and racial problems, and all those, Sir, need understanding. But they can all be solved by understanding. I think I can speak for the whole of Africa when I say that if we had greater understanding and less criticism from some of the older countries we would be a happier and more progressive continent. I must remind those other countries, some of whom criticize us from many thousands of miles away and do not understand our problems, that we have to live with our mistakes.

All of us in this Commonwealth have one great desire and one great ambition, that is to raise the standard of living of all the peoples of the Commonwealth and all the peoples of the world. We can only do this by putting more money in their pockets. We will not do it by giving them money or getting money and just doling it out as capital. What we have to do is increase our production potentialities and our agricultural potentialities. But I believe, as I said earlier, that if we can only get that political stability which can be engendered by the older countries understanding our problems, we can invite private investors from the United Kingdom and the Dominions to come and help us to build a viable economy in which all men will have employment. Finally, Sir, I should like very sincerely to support the suggestion made by Mr. Abii that we should have a Commonwealth Development Committee. I support his idea, not only for the reasons he gave, but also because I believe such a committee, composed of representatives of various parts of the Commonwealth, would add to the understanding for which I have pleaded this afternoon.

**Hon. B. B. Coke, M.H.R. (Speaker of the House of Representatives, Jamaica):** Mr. Deputy Chairman, fellow Delegates, as my colleagues have blossomed forth in the



very finest of expressions in telling Australia how much we have enjoyed Australia's hospitality, and seeing that I am a lone member from the big country of Jamaica, I feel that I should join the other Delegates in saying just a few words. Australia has stormed her way into our hearts. She has broken down all the citadels and taken full possession. All that we from the other side of the world can say is that we hope that we shall have the pleasure of taking full revenge on the Australians when they come to us.

I want to say, Sir, that it is a matter of great regret to us that our Prime Minister cannot be here; but into his shoes has come one, Mr. Sinanan, who has done very well, and has put the case for the smaller and underdeveloped territories before this Conference in a way that cannot be mistaken.

Ours is a very peculiar family, Sir. I have never before seen a mother with such a brood of children. I see children with straight hair, children with crinkly hair, fair hair and dark hair; I see dark faces, I see yellow faces; I see all kinds of garb. Yet, I see in the eyes and in the faces of all one common purpose, namely, that the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association must remain a solid unit, a unit that must learn to weather the blasts that attack it from outside, a unit that must learn to overcome the differences which exist within.

Undeveloped territories seem to me like the small boys or the small brothers in a family. The developed territories seem to me like the young men in long pants, some just beginning to shave and some having heavy beards. We know, Sir, that younger brothers are expected to play marbles, while the older brothers sit quietly in a corner discussing more advanced subjects. But I want to remind you that the younger brothers soon grow up. If they are not well taken care of, they will not be able to step properly into the footsteps of the elder brothers.

I want us, Mr. Chairman, to have what President Roosevelt called a family chat. Had this Conference been held a week after we came, I am sure it would have ended in confusion, but as the days and the weeks passed, the gruff "How-de-do" became a cheerful "Good morning"; the cheerful "Good morning" soon was accompanied by a real smile. We began to know each other's names and to play jokes on one another. So, at this Conference anything like bitterness is removed. We meet as a family to see what it is possible to do for the territories that are still underdeveloped.

One of my colleagues from the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland gave me a wrong impression this morning when he suggested that possibly the smallest territories wanted to go on the dole. If I am wrong in my interpretation, I apologize to him, but that was the impression I gained. I do not know about the other smaller territories, but I know that in the West Indies we want no dole. We want sympathy and we want understanding. We want private investors to come and help us to develop our country. We want them to help us to build our economy.

It is a great blessing, Mr. Chairman, that we have close by us, as was mentioned by my colleague from Trinidad, the great country of Canada. I shall say no more in praise of Canada save to express, as he did, that it is a real big brother. Alongside Canada we have a really fine adopted brother, the United States of America. I feel that there is something not quite right in our set-up when the smaller territories find themselves now and then seeking help from outside the family. I am sure that if the bigger brothers in the Commonwealth knew just what was happening in the underdeveloped territories they would think a little differently. When we sit here in luxury, ease and comfort, in cushioned chairs, it is a little difficult to understand what is happening in the underdeveloped countries of the Commonwealth. If I could have with me an Australian friend, a New Zealand friend, a South African friend, or a Canadian friend, in Jamaica, which is on the road to development, I would take him, not along the tarred roads or along the roads that we call parochial roads, but along the tracks. I would lead him to houses—I use the word "houses" because the people who live in them call them houses—and I would let him have a look at the situation that exists there. A great American screen idol, Errol Flynn, now dead, spoke of such houses in these words: "I have seen houses in Jamaica where I would not allow my dog to take shelter on a rainy night." Yet, we in Jamaica are developing.



Other people have said that the hungry look that they have seen in the eyes of people, the hollow cheeks, the puffed bellies of children, plainly tell the world that those people are denied the mere creature comforts of shelter and food. I shall not mention the kind of clothing that they have to wear. Yet, Jamaica is on the road to development. If my friends from the developed countries of the Commonwealth were to follow me to the almshouses of Jamaica and saw there the old, the sick and the aged, who are in those places only because of adverse conditions, they might be pardoned for wondering whether there was still a God.

We come here to forget our differences and to remember that there are other people who need us more than we can think. I do not say that Australia is a land that God has blessed. I would never say that, because it would be to take away from the courage, the fortitude, the endeavour, the energy and the interest that these great people have shown towards their country. They head for prosperity; indeed they have prosperity at their door. Prosperity means, sometimes, freedom from even thinking, but let me remind my dear friends in Australia that the price of freedom is eternal vigilance. The smaller territories represent the fingers and toes of this great Commonwealth. If gangrene sets in the body may suffer. We feel that, if we have not an equal share, an equal part, we nevertheless deserve equal consideration.

Our Mother Country—I still call her so—has done for Jamaica in the last seven or eight years more than we ever dreamed. God knows what would have happened to 15,000 or 20,000 of our people who found themselves suddenly going down the valley if England had not kept her doors wide open to allow our people to go there and work. I am sure that the Englishmen who are here will tell this Conference that we have not lowered their standards. We have not brought down any moral structure that they have built up. We have sought to adopt their methods of life, and we have lived in a way, and have displayed behaviour, that has been acceptable to them. But why should the Mother Country alone bear the burden? Why should everything, every difficulty, be placed on her already poor, weak, tired shoulders? She has not aged, but the responsibility has been so great that today it is difficult for her to measure up to the immense calls that are made upon her. The time has come when her big daughters, who are now almost sisters, should step forward and say, "Let me lend a hand".

I am appealing to my fellow colleagues from Australia to remember their near neighbours in the Commonwealth. I appeal to them to give another thought to their method of immigration. You can help to solve a problem. I am appealing to my fellow Delegates from South Africa to so condition the atmosphere of their country and their government that we who are outside will not think things that we should not think. That is possible. I appeal to other undeveloped countries like my own to have patience, tolerance, and understanding and to remember that others have their difficulties and their problems. Learn to find good in the worst around you. You will find bad in the best around you, but if we can have a balance, a happy medium, our Commonwealth will become more stable, more solid, more secure and will remain a bastion of freedom in this world—a freedom which we are all proud to enjoy, and we will have a prosperity in which I hope all of us will partake in the years to come.

**Mr. Ramsoumer Balgobin, M.L.C. (Mauritius):** Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates, it is with a deep sense of humility that I rise, even at this late hour of the day, to make my own small contribution to the discussion on the economic development of the underdeveloped territories of the Commonwealth. Before doing so, I should like to congratulate the initiator of the debate, Mr. Sinanan, for the wonderful speech which he made. I must tell him that I warmly endorse the views so eloquently expressed by him.

In discussing the problems of underdeveloped territories in the Commonwealth, it is my impression that we tend to concentrate on the problems and future of the larger units, whether in Africa or Asia, and to pay what I must myself, as the representative of a small oceanic island, regard as too little attention to the issues which face the smaller territories of the Commonwealth. I will be the first to admit that the solution of the enormous difficulties which face our brethren in, for example, India



and Africa are of immeasurably more concern to the welfare of the world and of humanity as a whole than the problems which afflict my own country, Mauritius, which is an island 30 miles by 40 miles and with just over 600,000 inhabitants. But my friends will forgive me if I remind them that these abstract considerations cannot carry as much weight with any one of those 600,000 human beings as the problems of health and livelihood which afflict each one of them individually every day of their lives. The peace and prosperity of the whole world is the aggregate of the peace and prosperity of each individual alive on the earth's surface, and I hope that my friends will therefore forgive me if in this speech I draw their attention away from the big issues of world economics and the balance of major political ideologies and invite their attention to the affairs of a tiny island lost in the middle of the Indian Ocean.

I do not apologize for doing so because I believe that my country, Mauritius, is in fact a microcosm of the Commonwealth itself. One of my countrymen, in a letter which was published in the periodical *New Commonwealth* some months ago, referred to Mauritius as a social laboratory in which could be worked out on a controlled experimental scale the answers to all the major problems which afflict the Commonwealth, if not the world.

Within our 720 square miles, in a total of 600,000 people, we have large communities, numbered in tens of thousands, of Europeans, Hindus like myself, Mohammedans, Chinese, and persons of mixed origin. The lingua franca of the country is a form of French patois having its origin in the eighteenth century. The language of administration and public affairs is English. The language of the Press, of literature and of culture is French. But throughout the island hundreds—perhaps thousands—use in their daily intercourse languages such as Hindi and Urdu, which had their birth in the Indian sub-continent. In matters of religion, we number among us Hindus of different persuasions, Roman Catholics, Buddhists, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Muslims and several other creeds. The land, which is the basis of the life of our island, is divided in ownership between persons of European origin and people of Indian origin, so that each has a very considerable stake in the stability and prosperity of the country as a whole. Our trade is very largely in the hands of Europeans, Muslims, and Hindus at the wholesale level, but almost exclusively in the hands of Chinese at the retail level. Our administrative and professional services, if we exclude the very few British officials who live temporarily among us, are provided in the main by people of mixed descent, although an increasing number of the young Hindu and Muslim members of our population are rising to positions of influence and importance in our professions.

It is clear to all of us in Mauritius, against this background, that in our island every man, woman and child, whatever his colour, origin, creed or language, is dependent upon his neighbour for his livelihood and his future. This has meant that we have evolved in Mauritius, as I believe, the answer to the biggest single problem of the world today—namely, how persons of different colours, creeds and languages can live side by side in mutual tolerance and harmony. Our history has been a singularly peaceful one, because we all know that we depend upon each other. I believe that we have much to teach the rest of the world in what we have achieved by the unspoken tolerance which we observe towards each other's feeling and aspirations.

As a small island, we have not been content, however, to be satisfied with the paternal and friendly administration of our close friends, Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, of whom we are today a dependency. In the last two years we have made great strides towards political emancipation from our old state as a Crown Colony, and I have no doubt that, in the years to come, we shall make further and faster progress. But there are certain characteristics of the demand for political advancement in our country which are of considerable importance from the point of view of this Conference, which is concerned with the economic and not the political development of underdeveloped territories. Our move towards constitutional advancement is not the result of any aggressive wish to cast aside our dependence on the United Kingdom; nor is it motivated by strong and urgent feelings of nationalism such as have motivated most of the countries represented here today; nor, again, is it based on any desire to secure the authority of one race in our country over the other minority races, for, as I have already made it clear, we all, every one of us, need our



friends to live side by side with us. Our desire for political advancement is motivated solely by a genuine desire to improve the social and economic lot of the ordinary people of our island. We feel that, without a direct say in our own affairs, we cannot apply to the solution of our problems the sense of urgency which is required. We have no desire ruthlessly to cut the friendly links which bind us to our friends overseas, but we know that, without our active participation in the affairs of our country, they themselves will be unable to secure the firm public backing which is necessary if our problems are to be solved.

What are those problems? Just as I have said that, in the field of human and community relationships, Mauritius is a microcosm of the Commonwealth, so I believe that, within our borders, we find existing, on perhaps a microscopic scale judged by world standards, but a very terrifying scale judged by our standards, the major economic and social problems with which this Conference—and, indeed, more than half of humanity—is concerned. I shall state those problems in the terms in which we see them. I feel sure that, as I speak, all of my friends here will recognize that those problems are their problems too. We in Mauritius do not pretend to have found the answer; we are moving gradually—perhaps dangerously slowly—towards their solution. But the thought that I wish to leave with my friends here is that we would welcome their views on these problems, and we offer ourselves as a veritable social laboratory in which, as I believe, the answers to those problems can be worked out for application on a much bigger scale elsewhere.

First, there is the question of population. We have in Mauritius a net reproduction rate which is among the two or three highest in the world. In six years our population has increased by 20 per cent. At the recent World Council of Churches Conference in Rhodes, we were singled out as an example of the explosive impact of population increase. We realize that in other countries—in India, in the West Indies and in many parts of Africa—population increase is a serious issue. But for us it is literally a question of survival, for the number of people we can support is limited inexorably by the fact that our country is an island, 30 miles wide and 40 miles long, in the middle of an ocean.

We have considered and investigated the question of emigration, but—and I speak perfectly frankly—nobody wants us. It is not that they do not want us because we are illiterate or uneducated. The people of Mauritius must be among the best educated people in the world outside Western Europe, North America and possibly Australia. We are 80 per cent. literate, and that in at least two languages, English and French. We have a tradition of industrial and agricultural skills dating back for over a hundred years, for our sugar industry is without exception the most efficient in the world. The plain fact is that those countries which have empty spaces which our sons could well develop do not want us because of our colour, despite the evidence we can produce inside our own island that colour discrimination is the most reprehensible and irrational of social crimes. We have not dared to introduce artificial methods of population control because to do so may offend deeply the susceptibilities of the one-third of our population, which is Roman Catholic in religion, and, as I have said, the characteristic of our people is that we desire to live in mutual tolerance and harmony.

Our main effort is, therefore, being concentrated on raising the standard of living and intensifying the effects of social awareness on the people as a whole. But this, as everyone of us here knows, is a desperately slow process and we are today faced with the choice between allowing it to take its course without any certainty that it will be effective, or embarking upon a line of policy which will test to the utmost the deep-seated desire, which we know to exist among our own Catholic brethren, to preserve for the sake of the country as a whole the peacefulness and social co-operation which have so far existed.

Next is the question of employment. It follows inevitably from the tremendous spurt in our population which has occurred in the last ten years and which stems from the introduction of greatly improved health and sanitary measures—for example, the eradication of malaria—that we have upon our hands a vast reservoir of young



people. Much more than half of our 600,000 population is under 21, an economic fact whose implications any economist or businessman here will readily appreciate. Ten thousand young people leave our schools every year; for them there are about one thousand new jobs available each year and they go into the labour market to compete, among others, with 8,000 youths who have never worked since leaving school. Paradoxically, however, though this is again a characteristic of every under-developed country in the world, this reservoir of unemployed youths consists mainly of educated youth, people who have a reasonably sound grounding in the arts and sciences but who, for that very reason, are reluctant to take up the only work available to them—and it is available—namely, agricultural work. We import virtually the whole of our food supplies; we could produce part of what we import, from our own soil, if we could persuade our young people to take to agricultural pursuits. So far we have been unable to do so; we are up against the twentieth-century problem of what to do with our surplus aspirants to white collar jobs which do not—and cannot ever—exist. This is a problem again which will be familiar to many of my friends here. I ask them what the answer is, and I say to them that we have in Mauritius a laboratory in which, with their assistance, we can work out the answer on a laboratory scale.

Next we have the problem of administration, the problem of how to introduce and to preserve in vitality those techniques of government administration and machinery which are indispensable to the economic progress of any country. We have a civil service some 10,000 strong. Inside it, the only effective source of advice and guidance on modern techniques of government comes from some sixty or seventy overseas colonial officials. They come to Mauritius. They go elsewhere after a short time. In that short time they impart, or they should impart, the experience and knowledge they have gained from close contact with the wider world. But I mean no discredit upon the best and most dedicated among them when I say that not all of them have truly at heart that sense of vocation which is the only glory and the only justification of their profession. Some of them, perhaps many of them, have given more to my country than any Mauritian will ever give. But at least an equal number have failed to understand us or to realize that our awkwardness, our idiosyncrasies, are not the result of a deliberate desire to ignore what is going on in the wide world or to ignore the demands of the modern state, but simply a reflection of the fact that we have to be taught patiently and sympathetically what we have no means of knowing instinctively. Again, therefore, we have in Mauritius another problem facing the emergent countries of the world, namely, how to reconcile our desperate need of the assistance of professional administrators and technicians from overseas with the fact that often those who come to us are not wholly understanding of, or sympathetic to our aspirations and the sincerity of our desire to be taught like very many other countries represented in this room. We turn to our friends in the more advanced countries—we need and seek the help and the sympathy of their sons—but it is vitally important to them and to us that, whatever the discomfort and frustration which awaits them in our country, they should send to us the best they can spare and not, as has tended so often to happen in recent years, those who may often be second best. For more than a century the British Colonial Service was a dedicated body sworn to serve the peoples among whom it worked. I hope that some means can be found of producing successors to those great teachers who can adjust themselves to the fact, for it is a fact, that their task is today the leading of peoples who are not children in the ways of the world, but adults who aspire to better things than their fathers knew.

Finally, and linked to what has just been said, for my friends will see that the problems I have listed are all inextricably linked one with another, there is the question of technical know-how. Every one of us in this room represents a country which must live or die according to the degree in which it can organize itself to subsist in a world of growing populations, modern methods, increased pressures and great competition. The primitive traditional society will inevitably, in this modern world, be exterminated. We are all dependent on the technician and his servant, the machine whether we like it or not. Unless we can acquire technical knowledge and technical services commensurate with our needs, we shall, quite simply, degenerate.

I often think that the advanced countries, which have helped us all so much in



the past and are striving to help us so much today, fail to understand how desperately important it is that they should work on this problem, in co-operation with us, in the light of the problem itself and not because they feel that by giving us assistance in one direction or another they are thereby buying our loyalty in the world struggle of politics with which they are, if I may say so, obsessed. In the last resort, machines and money will never buy friendship. What counts is sympathy. It is a tragic fact, so patently obvious to the inhabitants of countries like mine, that the great gifts of technical assistance come after pressure has been applied in the political field. I have explained earlier in this speech that my country—despite the magnitude of its problems, problems which are the same as those which afflict many other countries in the world but which are in proportion, I venture to say, for us in Mauritius even more pressing than they are in those other countries—is a peaceful, tolerant country giving no trouble to anyone in the world and striving to the best of ability to solve those problems itself and unaided. Of all the thousands of dollars which have been expended since 1946, of all the thousands of experts who have travelled all over the world bringing guidance and knowledge to the underdeveloped countries, the only assistance we have ever received has been in the form of Colonial Development and Welfare grants from the United Kingdom—grants which, despite their generosity, have financial conditions attached to them which militate seriously against their usefulness—and the visits, at our request and in large part at our expense, of two or three survey teams from the World Health Organization. The plain fact is that we are not—we do not want to be—a trouble spot or a pawn in the great game of international political power. We are a small country striving to secure for our people a reasonable standard of prosperity and of life itself; we are tackling ourselves problems which the greatest countries in the world have been unable to solve. It would be a great glory to us if we were to succeed. But it would be an everlasting shame and a denial of the protestations of humanity and goodwill which we here so loudly proclaim, if we were to fail.

I have not meant this speech to be an appeal for assistance and understanding of the problems of my own small country. I have meant it as an attempt to cut through what often tends to be the sanctimonious verbiage which tends to be used on occasions such as this. If conferences of this kind are to serve any useful purpose, they can only be based on a sincere attempt to analyse and to solve the human problems with which those of us who speak here are faced at home. The problems which face my country are the problems which face almost every country represented here today. If they can be answered for us, they can be answered for those other countries too; if they cannot be answered for us, who provide the best possible conditions for the production of those answers, they will never—and we should face this fact—be answered anywhere.

*The Conference then adjourned.*



## PROBLEMS OF THE UNDERDEVELOPED TERRITORIES OF THE COMMONWEALTH (*continued*)

At the Fourth Session of the Conference the discussion on "Problems of the Underdeveloped Territories of the Commonwealth" was continued.

The Chairman of the Council, Sir Alister McMullin, presided, and the opening speaker was the Hon. Roland Michener, Speaker of the House of Commons, Canada.

**Hon. Roland Michener, Q.C., M.P. (Speaker of the House of Commons, Canada):** Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, coming in at this late stage of a debate which, in effect, has been going on for three sessions, because the first and second subjects seemed to merge and meet at many points, I must be careful to avoid one of the cardinal sins of politicians, that is, repetition, particularly as I am one whose duty it is to condemn such faults in others. It has been a fascinating experience to sit and listen to the contributions which have been made from all sides of the Chamber on this very interesting subject. One could wish that one's friends at home could hear what has been said.

I think that most of our countries approach the problems which we have been discussing with a moderate and a sympathetic interest, but by no means with a full knowledge of the significance and extent of this question which we have been debating—the problem of the underdeveloped territories. I am sure that if they were here and could take part in these discussions they would be convinced of the rightness of the course which we have set and would be prepared to extend their efforts. I say that because we are all politicians. I know that politics is the science of the practicable. It would be particularly useful if those of our friends who are constituents and voters could have the same experience that we ourselves are having. It would make our task as legislators and leaders of opinion that much easier.

I think that everyone will agree that Canadians do respond to the problem of the needs of the underdeveloped countries, as they see them. I am not suggesting by any means that they do all they could, but by way of illustration may I recall a few of the things which we have done. I refer first to a brief statement which was made by our late Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Hon. Sidney Smith, who unfortunately succumbed earlier this year to the responsibilities and exertions of office. He said:

Our post-war financial assistance abroad had, by March, 1958, totalled \$4.3 billion. Of this, actual expenditures for economic and technical assistance to underdeveloped countries totalled about \$290 million. The bulk of the remainder went into post-war reconstruction, loans, relief, and subscriptions to international financial institutions, such as the International Bank and Monetary Fund, which play a major part in the creation of the financial climate necessary to the healthy employment of the world's capital resources.

With respect to the Colombo Plan, I might make the position more understandable if I say that the contribution to which Canada has now committed itself—\$50 million a year, which, as has already been pointed out, is a substantial increase over last year—amounts to one dollar out of every one hundred dollars which the Canadian Government takes in taxation from its people. That is only one of the many humanitarian expressions of the Canadian policy. We have a vast social welfare scheme. One aspect of it is the provision of old-age pensions, pensions for the elderly people of the community, which takes as much as eight dollars of every one hundred dollars raised by taxation.

Another aspect of Canadian participation has been mentioned, and I thank members of the West Indies Delegation for their reception of this activity. It has been described as an extension of the long-standing links between Canada and the West Indies. At the present time the islands of the West Indies are emerging towards independence within the Commonwealth. They are doing so under the auspices of a Federation which was established last year, with its capital at Port of Spain. This Federation will be Canada's closest Commonwealth neighbour, and we anticipate that our relations with the Federation will come to reflect this special association, through greater and freer trade, through increasing student exchanges and in many other ways. We have already undertaken to provide the West Indies with assistance in their economic development by undertaking to make a total of \$10 million available



to them for this purpose over the next five years. The form which this assistance will take is intended to reflect Canada's interest in seeing the bonds of the Federation strengthened. To that end, it is likely that the bulk of the funds to be made available will be used in the building of ships for inter-island service in the West Indies. May I draw the parallel that these ships will lay the basis for communication and solidarity within the West Indies which the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway laid for the Canadian Federation shortly after it had been established.

Like the United Kingdom, Canada participates proportionately in many other agencies which have been developed to assist the underdeveloped countries. There is the wide range of institutions set up under the United Nations' auspices for the harmonization of international standards, and for the expansion of co-operation, particularly at the technical level. They include the Food and Agricultural Organization, the World Meteorological Association, the International Civil Aviation Organization—with headquarters in Montreal—the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund, to mention only a few.

I am not in any sense boasting, or taking credit for what we have done. To some extent, I think that it is motivated by a genuine humanitarianism. On the other hand, it has been largely beneficial to Canada itself. Much of the money made available has been spent in our own country, and has created employment; but the fact that humanitarianism does play its part in these activities is, I think, a great sign of hope in the world today. It is a new phenomenon. I do not disparage, in any sense, the accomplishments of the colonial administrations of the past, which did so much to advance material welfare not on humanitarian grounds, but often in the interests of the colonial power, but since the war, and more particularly in the last ten or twelve years, we have seen on the part of the more fortunate countries in this world a desire to assist, purely for humanitarian reasons. It is that which makes it possible for us to look forward with hope.

Self-interest is a motive which no one overlooks. As one of the great trading nations, what we are doing helps ourselves. As has been mentioned, we have ranked fourth and even third in volume of international trade for many years, and have a vital interest in what goes on in other parts of the world, because our own economy is so dependent upon it. We realize, too, that isolationism, whether economic or political, becomes less and less possible in the present world.

Furthermore, there is the other point which has been raised here from time to time. It has often been asserted that in the sphere of economic relations we must either work together or perish together; and that the Soviet Union might subjugate the world by driving the Western powers into bankruptcy. I am not so sure that this is possible. I am reminded of a recent experience. I had the privilege of visiting Germany and there I saw, to some extent, the contrast between Western Germany, where the people were operating under free democratic institutions, with full power to express not only their views but also their enterprise, and the situation in the Eastern zone of Germany. In Western Germany everything was flourishing, but in the Eastern Zone, which has been under the domination of a Soviet-inspired Government, and under the shadow of a very substantial portion of the Red Army which is in occupation, by no means the same headway had been made. There is no doubt in the mind of anyone that, if the people of the Eastern Zone had a free choice today, they would throw in their lot with the West, rather than continue the regime under which they now suffer.

Those who are trying, by democratic means, to improve life for their people have warned the West often enough of the possible consequences of failure—revolution, possibly ending in Communist dictatorship. Now I ask these questions. How much can we expect? What are the limits? What can be done? What qualifications should be made to the objective and ideal of sharing our prosperity so as to raise the standard of those who are backward? This is talk of economic disparity, but may I suggest that the question is not entirely one of economics. We talk about the "haves" and the "have nots". I do not like that way of describing the situation. I would remind you that happiness and peace are not necessarily bought by the opulence which industrialization has developed in some of the Western countries over the past 200 years. There is another side to the ledger which favours some of the so-called "have



nots". For example, there is much that is desirable and that can be learned from the ancient civilization and culture of India. I remember visiting some Indian villages. I was struck by the harmonious family life that existed among the simple people of those villages. It provided a contrast with some of the things that I had seen in my own country—a contrast that was all in favour of the Indian way of life. An eloquent Canadian, Mr. Leonard Brockington, had this to say at a service in honour of the late Mahatma Gandhi:

Many great and good things have come from the East to cleanse men's hearts and to bless our common heritage—but no greater example than this fact: to be a hero in India a man need not be a general or a statesman, a man of power or of riches. Above all, he must be a thinker, a philosopher, a teacher, a saint.

I suppose that the features of Mahatma Gandhi, his spare ascetic form, his dress, the simple purity of his life, the power which seemed to be rooted in the sheer goodness of his character, were known wherever the family of mankind has set its dwelling place. Although he lived in a far-off land, he seemed in some strange way to be known to each one of us. He was part of our world.

We have heard from Mauritius and the West Indies. In some respects they are not "have nots" and I would like to call to witness one of their great leaders, the Hon. Norman Manley, who said, in speaking to a Canadian university group when he was Premier of Jamaica:

I dare to say that the West Indies has travelled hundreds of years ahead of large parts of the world in solving the problem of how people of different races and origins can live together in harmony.

We must remind ourselves that we live in what is often called an imperfect world. I would prefer to say that we are the imperfect inhabitants of a world which is predictable. Although I do not wish to be too philosophical about this problem, which comes down in the end to the matter of individual hunger and poverty—illustrations of which we have been given. May I recall what the philosopher Malthus said about population? As I recall it, he said that population tended to increase in geometric proportion whereas the food supply available to mankind increased only in arithmetic proportion, and that it was a simple proposition to show that the supply of food would soon be outrun by the numbers of people. Whether or not that principle has been working in the world is difficult to say. For a time it appeared not to be, but, in our modern world, with the ease of communication that we have today in what has often been described as a small or a shrinking world, the prospects are that humanity will fill every nook and cranny that is available for habitation. I think that the world's population is now estimated at two billion, and we may make the prediction that, in the not very distant future, we may have something like six billion people inhabiting this globe. The problem, then, is not a simple one, if one bears that factor in mind.

Unwanted or excess population has been dealt with in the course of history by some pretty ruthless methods—some human and some natural. I think that the great upsurge of population is a modern phenomenon. I do not know how far back the history of Africa is known, but I believe that the population of that continent was relatively small until the last 100 or 200 years. China, I would think, has long had a large population, because it has an ancient settled community and economy. I am not sure of the history of India, but there is a great and growing population there. I ask you to consider what remedy would be applied to this problem in a world governed by dictators. We have had one very recent example of a dictator who persuaded his countrymen to eliminate approximately 6 million unwanted Jewish people in lethal chambers. I am not sure what might be the approach of Communist dictatorships, if population were a pressing problem to it. It appears to be a pressing problem in the Chinese People's Republic. One cannot learn too clearly how many people have lost their lives violently since the present regime began.

I do know one thing. The Commonwealth approach is ascertainable. It is based on our common respect for the individual and his worth and place in society, not on his value to the State. We do not approach the problem by asking whether the excess population is of any value to the State. We look at the individuals themselves. We



regard every man as having a right to family life. The counterpart of that, of course, is that few heads of families are prepared to sacrifice the rights and interests of their own families in favour of those of more remote and distant families. So you have to balance rights and obligations when considering this very difficult human problem.

We ask ourselves, what are our respective needs? First, may I recall again the figures published by the United Nations—I think they are very tragic figures—which show the *per capita* cash income of the peoples of the world. I think that the range is really scandalous when you compare the annual *per capita* income available to sustain life in some countries with that in the more highly developed and prosperous countries. In our Commonwealth only the United Kingdom has attained what one may describe as a mature economy. Even there, as we have heard in this discussion, there is need for care to ensure a livelihood for the 51 million people who inhabit the British Isles, an area which is not capable of providing them with the food to sustain such a population. Consequently, it is a responsibility of the Government there to see that it is possible to supplement that food supply.

In Canada, we have made very great strides, particularly in the last few years. We have a climate—I mean, not the weather, but the economic climate—which has attracted capital from all the capital exporters in the world, more particularly the United States, and from the United Kingdom and other European countries. We have a stable society based on free enterprise. We have raw materials. We have fuels and water power. Investment has been almost embarrassing in its extent, although I do not hear anyone from Canada complaining about that. But the investment of such large amounts of capital from abroad has had economic and political consequences which we have had to watch with some care.

One aspect of this great inflow is that the Canadian dollar, often to our embarrassment, is worth more than the American dollar. The Canadian dollar stands today at a premium of 5 per cent. compared with the American dollar. An American tourist who crosses the border finds that his American dollar gives him only 95 cents in Canadian money, and he feels that he has been robbed or affronted in some respect. The premium on the Canadian dollar also has its consequences for our exporters.

But we have no population problem. Canada's present population is 17,400,000. It has shown a very rapid rise. I am not sure of the exact number of immigrants since the war, but it is well in excess of 1,200,000 and I know that it exceeded 200,000 on one of the recent years in which the flow was largest. But there is a limit to the population which we can sustain, and this limit will be reached within foreseeable time, notwithstanding the vast area of Canada. Much of it is arctic; much of the country has no arable soil. We can count on extending the inhabited arable parts perhaps by only another 250,000 people in the Peace River district.

Even within Canada, there are, in a lesser degree, inequalities of the kind found to a greater degree in the more extreme cases about which we have been talking. This was so evident that, in 1939, we set up a Royal Commission to inquire into this problem of the disparity which existed in different parts of Canada—a vast country extending 3,500 miles from Halifax to Vancouver, with many different regions, different soils, different people and different economies. That Royal Commission came up with a proposal which is now part of our fiscal system. It is that the more industrialized and wealthy parts of the community should bear more than their share of taxation and that, by a redistribution through the federal agency, we should seek to provide a common Canadian level of services—not the highest level, but a common standard of services. It seems to me that that is the pattern which we should fix as our objective in considering how we can help each other. I doubt whether anyone would suggest that the highest standard could become the general standard, but we might at least aim at a common standard which would be higher than the lowest and which would be sustainable by the whole.

It is not easy to do this within the boundaries of a single country, and the problem is proportionately greater when we have different political units to take into account. It will take time to do it. The gratifying thing is that a start has been made, particularly in the last ten years. This is an old problem which reaches back for centuries, but



inventions and modern communications have brought it into sharp focus today, so that no right-thinking person can overlook its proportions or its importance.

I hesitate to suggest solutions. I know that many have been suggested in this discussion. But I bring two ideas to your attention. The first involves the big brothers and the younger brothers of the Commonwealth, as Mr. Coke describes them. Much is required of the big brothers and of the younger brothers. Much is required of those who can help and of those who must be helped. Leadership, particularly among the younger brothers—and much of that leadership is represented here—is essential. Education, and particularly technical and practical education, I think, holds the greatest immediate promise, because with all the money in the world our objectives cannot be accomplished if there are not the people who have the practical knowledge and the technical skill to apply modern agricultural and industrial methods to countries which are inexperienced in that field.

The essential feature of the modern industrial method is the use of power to supplement man's own work. I should like to tell you what the use of power has meant in the Province of Ontario. There we were fortunately placed in relation to the great hydroelectric energy at Niagara Falls, which was developed at a very early stage. It was computed that the value of that power to the people of Ontario was equivalent to every man, woman, and child in that province having twelve servants working for them every day. That simple illustration gives you some idea of the effect of the application of power of one kind or another. It seems to me that this is essentially a problem of supplementing the work of man by the use of modern power.

With the sympathy and goodwill evident here, with co-operation and the realization of our essential interdependence, we should not be discouraged by the magnitude of the task, but should take heart. As the Australians say "Advance Australia", let us say "Advance Commonwealth Community"—and, for that matter, "Advance all toiling humanity".

**Mr. C. Kenyon, M.P. (*United Kingdom*):** Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates, the debate which has ranged since Tuesday is so interlocked that one can hardly separate its principles, for the underdeveloped countries are interlocked with all the economic principles of the whole of the Commonwealth. But when I heard the different speakers speaking on the shortage of finance, not only in the underdeveloped countries but in the developed countries, I felt that here was a question which needed the most expert and careful examination, because if the financial resources of the Commonwealth—yea, of the world—are inadequate to meet the development of both the developed and the underdeveloped countries, we shall run into difficulties very, very soon, and if the financial system and the financial methods which operate at the present day become frustrating and limiting instead of expanding, I think our difficulties instead of becoming smaller will become greater.

It may be, as one speaker said, that we should not waste money on armaments, but I would like to point out that that is no solution. If, as we all desire, the production of armaments could be stopped at once, we should still have to find employment for those people now working on arms who would be displaced, and money would be spent in that way. It seems, as one speaker said, that we have to create new wealth in order to accommodate all those requirements of the Commonwealth.

Having said that, let me say that there are problems in the underdeveloped areas that can only be dealt with by the underdeveloped areas themselves; the developed areas cannot deal with many of the problems facing the underdeveloped areas.

The speaker from Ghana yesterday pointed out that cocoa is the lifeblood of Ghana. It is up to the leaders of Ghana to see that there is another vein in Ghana somewhere, because not only may some other underdeveloped country begin to produce cocoa, but the disease which is so often rife in cocoa can stop the lifeblood altogether. It is up to that country, and to every country, to watch these various disasters which may descend on them.

Now, we are also facing, as a Commonwealth and as a world—Mr. Michener touched on this—the question of overpopulation. If the rate of population increases



as it is increasing at the present moment, no financial system that exists or that can be devised will meet the situation of lifting the standard of living of the people already in the world, and for those who will be in the world within a very short time. Something has to be done, and it must be done by education. The population in the United Kingdom is increasing, and we have to face the simple fact that the resources of the world are limited; there is a limit to them, and if populations continue to increase and make their demands upon the limited resources, then disaster faces the whole human race. These are questions that we have all got to face in our own individual countries if we are to build up the standard of life that we desire. We must be realistic in our approach to many of our problems, and I hope you will not think that I am unsympathetic to the requirements of the underdeveloped countries.

The United Kingdom is a developed country, but we must bear in mind that it has taken us centuries to reach the position that we enjoy at the present moment. We have not just stepped into it over a few years. We have developed our present position over long centuries, and when the peoples of the world and of the Commonwealth look at Great Britain and see the standard of life which we are enjoying, they must remember that we have only reached it after centuries of struggle, after centuries of careful development, after long years of sacrifice and work. If other nations are to reach the position that we have reached—and they can reach it now much quicker than we did—they will have to follow very similar lines to those that we followed. They must move intelligently parallel to, and in co-operation with industry and its requirements.

In the development of the underdeveloped countries, two things must be recognized: first, the need for food—agriculture, and, secondly, the need for industry. But these two things must march together. If one is exploited at the expense of the other, then failure will certainly follow.

Food is essential. It is essentially the first production requirement of any country, because food is not just something which enables us to keep alive. Food is the common currency of the world and, in the final reckoning, it is food that pays for every commodity, for all production, and for every service. Unless we recognize that food production is the first essential for every underdeveloped country, the underdeveloped countries will get into difficulties.

We recognize this in the United Kingdom, because we produce only 60 per cent. of our food requirements. The other we have to purchase. We can purchase the remaining 40 per cent. because of our industrial exports, but the underdeveloped countries are not in that position. They must concentrate, first of all, upon food as the basis of their whole economies. The developed countries can provide tremendous help to the underdeveloped countries in the provision of experts, but let me put in a word of warning here, as a farmer. Too much emphasis is laid upon the university expert. Many underdeveloped countries, which are now arising to a realization of the necessity of having their own agriculture, are seeking the men with degrees to help them to develop their agriculture. What they need is the practical man—the practical man who knows the job and who can work in co-operation with the expert and keep him in his place. Believe me, if we followed the experts we could starve to death.

With the development of agriculture must also come the development of industry. Only the individual country can determine what industry is most suited to its requirements. That is another question that the individual country must determine for itself. Here again, we run into difficulties. We all know that industry needs men with a technical education and men with a scientific education, but it seems to be forgotten that, between the scientist and the technician at the top and the labourer at the bottom, there are quite a lot of spaces that have to be filled. The danger in some countries is that there will be a tremendous surplus of labourers and a large number of experts at the top, technical and scientific. You need in other stages of the job the man who is capable of teaching those below him the principles of the process from beginning to end. Unless you get him, your industry will become, not an economic support of the country, but an economic burden. The underdeveloped countries should recognize that it is essential that they start with men and women who can teach all the way through.



May I finally say this. The West Indies has sent—and we have accepted them—many West Indians to the United Kingdom. They are doing a good job. Their children are being educated with our children in the schools. They receive similar education all the way through. They have the opportunity of attending the elementary school, the secondary school, the grammar school and the university courses, if they are capable. These children, growing up, as they are, in this industrial country, are learning all stages of industry. When they have completed their education, they could be a tremendous asset to the underdeveloped parts of the Commonwealth, if they would leave the United Kingdom, go into those underdeveloped parts with their knowledge and their ability and pass them on to their fellows in the other parts of the Commonwealth. I hope that the advantage that they receive in our country will be regarded as a gift which they can pass on to the other parts of the Commonwealth. If they do that, everything will work to the good.

**Hon. Arthur A. Calwell, M.P. (Deputy Leader of the Opposition, *Australian Commonwealth*):** Mr. Chairman, we have listened to many speeches, all of them good, all of them containing much thought-provoking matter, all of them containing ideas and suggestions for the better working of the British Commonwealth, and all containing ideas that will be helpful to a Prime Ministers' Conference or wherever executive decisions are made in respect of the development of the underdeveloped territories of the world. It would be easy to speak to a gathering like this in platitudes and sophistries and aphorisms. It would be easy to employ euphemistic language to avoid a lot of difficult problems. But today everybody, quite generously and honestly and forthrightly, has put a point of view which demands attention and respect. I propose to say something a little later on the question of Australian immigration laws in answer to the criticisms that have been made.

When we talk of developed and underdeveloped countries, we are not thinking of any division of humanity on the lines of race, religion or nationality. We of the Labour Party understand the position to represent a division of mankind between the privileged and the underprivileged, between those who have and those who have not, between the nations that are wealthy and those that are poor. However this division occurred, and whatever resentments may be still felt at its existence by many of its victims of yesterday and today, the time is not yet too late for the developed and privileged countries to reorientate their economic and financial policies towards the underdeveloped and underprivileged countries, if for no other or for no better reason than that it is in their own best interest to do so. The scandal of Dives and Lazarus on the international level has been flaunted before the world now for far too long.

It is easy to oversimplify this story, of course, and I hasten to emphasize that there are degrees of inequality in both privileged and underprivileged countries that are indefensible and, indeed, dangerous to internal political stability and economic progress as well as to international peace.

We who are Australians are proud of the consistent support that our country has given to the United Nations and all its agencies and, in particular, of the work that has been done for the citizens of the underdeveloped territories of this Commonwealth of Nations. It is my view—and I express it with some temerity—that time is running out for those of us who belong to the pre-World War II Dominions, to European nations generally, and to the United States. Radical changes are necessary and urgent, if the problem of helping to feed the millions of hungry people throughout the British Commonwealth of Nations alone and of helping to develop the industries of their countries is even to be mitigated. The problem is so vast and so difficult, and has continued for so many hundreds of years, that it will take quite a few decades yet before the living standards of all mankind can be raised to the average standard of living in the Western world today.

It is a trite saying that desperate ills need desperate remedies, and without over-stress or overemphasis on the urgency of the problem we are considering in this debate, I cannot accept the view of many of the Delegates from the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, who stand for the maintenance of the capitalist



system, based on production for profit and not for use, that what the Western world has done to date in this matter of economic co-operation is the most that could have been done, or that the financial aid already rendered is not far from being the best it could do to help those who need it most.

There are many people in Australia today who feel that much more must be done by Australia for the millions who exist, and merely exist, in hunger and poverty and misery, and with little apparent hope of any improvement in their depressed conditions, in the underdeveloped nations of Asia and Africa and Oceania. Australia's leading economist, Professor Sir Douglas Copland, a man of international reputation, speaking on this problem in May of last year, said that Australia's contribution of £3 million a year to the Colombo Plan was ridiculously low. He said that Australia's aid for underdeveloped countries should be raised to £25 million a year, and Professor Sir Douglas Copland would be regarded as a conservatively minded economist.

If it is necessary for Australia to do more, it is necessary for all the countries of the Western world, and Japan and other countries that are not underprivileged and underdeveloped, to do more. We are proud, as I have said, of what we have done to date. Our contributions to the Colombo Plan amount of £3 million a year, as I have just mentioned. Up to the present time our contributions to the economic development programme and the technical co-operation scheme of the Colombo Plan have cost us £30 million, and we do not begrudge the expenditure of one penny of it. But we have our own particular problem. We have the problem of Papua-New Guinea. There are 1,500,000 natives in the Territory, and some of them are not far removed from cannibalism. I have talked to old men in the highlands of New Guinea who as young men were cannibals. We have been spending a lot of our own money on these people and getting nothing in return for it. We do not want anything in return. We have had such a task in trying to tame this continent in the course of the 180 years of European settlement on its shores that we have never had any time to think about, or worry about, colonies. Anything that we have done in New Guinea has been done in the spirit of tutelage. We have tried to raise the standards of the peoples of New Guinea to something approximating our own. Last year we spent £13 million there. The local people, European and native, contributed £7 million more. The total expenditure in the year before last was £18 million. We are adding an extra £2 million each year for the people who occupy those territories for which we are responsible; and we applaud all others who might have done equally well elsewhere for those for whom they are responsible. In addition to all this, Australia cannot be expected to solve the overpopulation problems of all the world.

We admire the generosity—the magnificent generosity—of the American people. They have spent \$70 billion to date throughout the world on military and economic aid, and \$70 billion means \$70 thousand million. That is a prodigious sum. It is almost astronomical in its magnitude. The average contribution of the American citizen to date in helping people of other countries is about \$412. Other countries have not done anything like as much as America has done. But, as I have said, the problem is urgent. The problem cannot wait.

Yesterday, my colleague, the Minister for Primary Industry in this country, delivered an informative speech. My only criticism of it is that the approach was too timid. The magnitude and urgency of the problem demand that we shall be more daring in doing the things that we have to do, because it seems to me, Sir, that if what exists in India exists in underprivileged countries generally, time is against us. I understand that there are 100 million people in India engaged in agriculture and that over one-third of all agriculturists are tenants or share-croppers, and that just one-third are farm labourers. These landless labourers are unemployed half of the year. Hunger, poverty and ignorance, such as these conditions create, plus discontent and the revolutionary ideas of social justice and a better life, are the combustibles of revolution. We cannot afford to contemplate with equanimity the future that we see before us in such circumstances.

I want to compliment those representatives of the Asian and African countries who have put forward worthwhile plans. I agree with much of what they have said and I agree with the suggestion of the representative from Singapore who urged that



under the Colombo Plan it might be better if we sent our professors, educationists, leading thinkers and scientists generally to the countries that need education rather than do the lesser job, because of the question of finance that determines all these things, of bringing people into Australia for education.

I want to say a few words about the White Australia policy to which reference has been made. "White Australia" is a term that finds no place in any of our laws. It was a term that grew up forty years before we had a Federation. It is journalese. It arose over difficulties on the goldfields between Chinese and, for the most part, Englishmen, Scotsmen and Irishmen, who had also come here in search of gold. Under our immigration laws, we do not exclude people solely because of race or colour. There is not one Delegate to this Conference who could not come to Australia to live permanently if he could fulfil the requirements of our laws. Every nation has the right to determine the content of its population. We all have the right, if we wish to do so, to preserve the homogeneity of our people. We wish to do precisely that, but any Delegate to this Conference from Africa and Asia who could trade to the extent of £10,000 a year or £200 a week with his own country or with some other Asian or African country would be eligible to come and live here and bring his wife and children here with him. Any children that were born here subsequently would be regarded by the law as Australians just as I am regarded as an Australian. There is provision in our laws for naturalization for all who become permanent residents in due course. Our laws are much more liberal than are many Asian laws in respect of immigration. There is discrimination in Asian laws, as I know, between the peoples of one Asian country and another, but it is the right of Asian peoples to discriminate, if they wish to do so, even against fellow Asians or any other people.

The Americans have a quota system. They allow 100 Australians into the United States each year. They allow in 100 Indians and 100 Chinese each year. But they allow in 65,000 Englishmen and 25,000 Germans and 5,000 Italians, and 2,600 Russians to enter their country each year. As an Australian, I refuse to believe that one Englishman is better than 650 Australians or that one Russian is better than 26 Australians, no matter what American immigration laws might say.

But if that is the way the Americans wish to have it, let it be. I am the grandson of an American; I have a tremendous regard for America, but I am not worried about the provisions of American immigration law, because I want to live and die in my own country, and I think most Asian people want to live and die in their own country. Very few people anywhere ever want to emigrate if they can avoid doing so.

What we must do for our Asian and African friends to make them happy is to help them to lift their standards of living as quickly as possible. We can do that by carrying out policies determined upon in friendly conference. If there is ever to be another Afro-Asia Conference, such as was held at Bandung, I think that any of our colleagues here today who may have been at that Conference should not draw the colour line on Australia again next time and say, "You must stay out because of the colour of your skin; or you must stay out because we feel a resentment against people of European origin as a result of the evils of imperialism and colonialism of other days". We want to co-operate and to be friendly and helpful to Asians and Africans and we trust that our position will be understood.

I want to conclude by saying that the Asian people themselves passed this continent by for thousands of years as a useless, uninhabitable land. Our tough ancestors came here and made it what it is today. We have been here as a race for only 180 years, but in that time we have tried to develop this land and to play our part in the councils of the world. We have tried to be fair to all mankind. We have done as much as any other country could possibly have done on a *per capita* basis to aid the people of Asia, some of them our very near neighbours, and what we have done in the past, we will continue to do in the future. But our immigration laws are our own concern, as everybody else's immigration laws are their own concern. We have never intended to give offence; we have given no offence, and we hope that our relationships with men and women everywhere will be as warm in the future as they have been up to date.

What I have said does, I hope, express the view of all Australians in every part of our island continental home.



**Mr. E. J. Keating, M.P. (New Zealand):** Mr. Chairman, the subject of economic co-operation in the Commonwealth, which was discussed yesterday, more or less covers the same ground as the subject now before us, so you must excuse me if I reiterate some of the views that I expressed yesterday.

In passing, I would like to say that I did not quite understand the reference of the previous speaker, Mr. Calwell, to the capitalists of New Zealand. If Mr. Calwell was referring to me, I assure him that I have not enough sugar to sweeten a cup of tea. I would say, too, that some of the conservatives in New Zealand seem to be to the left of some of the radical parties in other countries, and there is a fair amount of advanced legislation in that area.

The needs of underdeveloped territories are three—industrial development, increased agricultural productivity, and improved social services. The last, of course, obviously must wait until they have the first two. Experience over the past ten years has been that the main obstacles are lack of capital and skilled technical personnel. When people talk about capital, they normally think of financial capital, but there are other forms of capital which the dependent territories do not lack. There are, for example, supplies of raw materials, and some of these dependent territories are quite rich in raw materials. What they lack is the capacity to develop these raw materials into the most effective and useful form.

There is also, of course, social capital, which consists of political, social and economic organization. That takes some time to develop, but when it has developed it can be very useful, and it is developing rapidly. There is a third type which might be called intellectual capital. It consists of technical knowledge and know-how. Mr. Kenyon, when speaking for the United Kingdom, mentioned this need and developed the point that we tend to have labourers on one side and highly intellectual people on the other side in the dependent territories. That is true, but I should like to ask what the advanced countries are doing to remedy the position; I would think that what they are doing is not sufficient. Under the Colombo Plan, Governments are making provision for scholarships of various kinds, and for trainee bursaries in various fields; but I suggest that what is being done there is quite inadequate. It happens that in the democracies there is a tendency to ask the Government to do the whole job and to expect the Government to carry it through. But there are organs in democratic society which also have some responsibility, and they are organs that can provide the very services which Mr. Kenyon mentioned.

Manufacturing organizations, trade unions—I would say trade unions have a particular responsibility if they really believe in their philosophy—Chambers of Commerce and the like could act as agents for the training of people from overseas. I suggest that the Governments provide the passage money for people in various fields and that, once inside the respective countries of the Commonwealth that invited them, they could then be taken over by, say, manufacturing organizations, by trade unions and by various other bodies inside the community who could impart the necessary know-how at the proper levels. It could be done, and it could be done fairly cheaply; but it is not being done to any great extent. That is one field in which very real advances could be made, and it is, I think, a very practical one which could be implemented fairly easily.

I come to the question of raw materials. The Member from Nigeria yesterday mentioned oil. That is one illustration of the point that some of these dependent territories have actually very large material capital resources in that form, and it would be to everybody's advantage if they were developed. I have one other suggestion to make, which might be worth carrying out. The United States of America a few years ago set up a commission to sketch the whole of its resources. I think it was called the United States Economic and Physical Resources Commission. It made a complete study of the whole of the economic and physical resources of the United States, and that information is now available in several volumes for anybody who wants to dip into it. I think Canada did the same thing within recent years. But so far as I know, there is no such thing in the Commonwealth as a complete, comprehensive survey of our economic and physical resources. When we talk glibly of planning, as some have done in this Conference, we must remember that we cannot plan anything unless we



have the facts on which to base our decisions. There is something to be said for a commission of some kind to survey the whole of the resources of the Commonwealth and to bring down a report in a form which will enable any country of the Commonwealth to have quick and ready access to all the necessary information.

Mr. Michener referred to the fact that in a democracy one of the difficulties of a politician is that he cannot get too far ahead of public opinion, and that public opinion in many cases is the determinant of what is done in foreign fields—and so it is. If that is so, then there is a particular need to inform public opinion, and to use every means that will enable that to be done. In saying that, I should like to pass one criticism of Australia—it is the only one of any dimension that I have made so far or will make, but this is the forum in which to make it. The coverage of overseas news by Australian newspapers is remarkably deficient and, for a country which prides itself on being advanced, I think there is a particular responsibility on the newspapers to do something about it. However, being a politician, I am not very hopeful that they will. I think that other means have to be found, and I suggest that radio coverage and increasing television coverage might be the means. In Australia, I have seen some excellent films produced for publicity purposes. I have seen them for the first time and I have been fortunate. There are tens of thousands of people—millions of people—who would be equally advantaged if they could see them, and I suggest that that type of film might well be put on television in the various countries of the Commonwealth to extend public knowledge.

Mr. Michener said that it would have been good to carry the people of his country to the several places where he has been. He cannot do it physically; he could do it by television, and I think that is a very effective means to put into operation. I think there should be a systematic consideration of this matter, with the object of extending knowledge by the technical means that are available. As I say, I do not depend on the newspapers to do this. They have not, in any of the advanced countries—if we can use the word “advanced” in this context—used the facilities available to do the job that they should do. They enjoy the benefits of cheap cable rates and cheap telegraph rates in order to keep the public informed, but they do not discharge their responsibilities in this respect.

I have mentioned the question of extending technical knowledge at the workshop level. Let me give an account of an experience I had five or six years ago in connexion with the visit of a gentleman from Afghanistan who held the position, I think, of Postmaster-General in his country, and another gentleman who had a similar position in Israel. They had intended to go to America, or possibly to England, but through a combination of circumstances they came to New Zealand. They said that the visit had been of great advantage for them. They said they were pleased that the change had been made, because it happened that the smaller country was much closer to them, with respect to the nature of the problems faced, than were the much more advanced countries. They said they were very glad, in the long run, that they had come to the smaller countries, because they were much closer, in point of time, to the kind of problems that they themselves had to deal with, and that, therefore, they gained more from their visit. I think such considerations might be worth taking into account, because some of the more advanced countries are so far ahead of the underdeveloped ones that they cannot impart the all-embracing knowledge that is needed at the appropriate level by the people requiring it. In any consideration of what should be done to advance technical knowledge in the underdeveloped countries, the advantages that can be gained in some of the smaller countries, and more recently developed countries, should be considered.

Let me give an example, in a field in which I have some knowledge. In New Zealand one can see every type of telecommunication development, from the beginning of this form of communication right through to the present day. This is because New Zealand happens to be one of the youngest countries in the world, and it has gone through that cycle of telecommunication development that other countries have gone through in various stages. All these developments can still be seen in one part or other of New Zealand. The smaller and more recently developed countries and



Dominions are the ones that can most effectively impart the knowledge needed by some of the less well developed countries.

The question of the provision of capital was covered adequately yesterday by the various speakers, so I do not propose to address myself at length to that aspect. I merely repeat the general observation I made yesterday, that there is need for a Commonwealth development bank. There is need for a combination of all resources for this purpose. If we had such an overall financial authority, working on the basis of the comprehensive survey that I have mentioned, and using the practical means that I have suggested, I think we would have a method of securing, at fairly reasonable cost, a more rapid advance than we are achieving at the present time.

**Mr. T. G. Hughes, M.P. (*Union of South Africa*):** Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates, it is true, as someone has already pointed out, that this discussion has already lasted through three sessions, and I think we have learned that the problem is a vast and highly diversified one. It covers not only economic development but also cultural and human development. Furthermore, the problem is one that is faced not only by territories which are an integral part of one or other of the countries of the Commonwealth, but also those areas which are at present controlled, and largely administered, subsidized and financed, by countries of the Commonwealth whose people do not inhabit those areas. We have representatives here of territories in all these categories, all faced with the particular problems of their own particular areas, as well as the common problem of promoting the well-being and advancement of the backward territories and peoples. I think we will all agree that we have this common problem and common interest.

This discussion is an exchange of views, a sharing of our experiences, our difficulties and our successes, with a view to ascertaining to what extent we are working in the same direction, and how far we can help one another in pursuing a common objective. I take it that the ultimate object of every member of the Commonwealth is to achieve for its own people and those whom it may at present control a secure and steadily increasing standard of living, based on the development of natural resources and potential manpower, under a government adapting modern democratic practices to meet the particular needs of its people. We are indebted to previous speakers for the information they have given us, which has helped us to appreciate some of the difficulties we face in seeking a solution to the problem of the underdeveloped countries.

We have all realized, I think, that underdeveloped countries require some form of assistance, and it is obvious, from the discussions that have taken place here, that the assistance generally sought is capital and technical knowledge. It is sought from the more developed or advanced countries. Mr. Abii has made it quite clear that, at any rate in the case of Nigeria, this assistance is not wanted in the form of a gift. Whatever is offered will be accepted as an investment which will attract a good return. Other Delegates from underdeveloped areas have indicated the same thought.

Mr. Holt has pointed out that the only member of the Commonwealth which can export capital is the United Kingdom. He said that the other senior members of the family are themselves short of capital for new projects. We in South Africa, for instance, are badly in need of development capital, and we have been disappointed at being unable to raise as much as we have required on the London market, and so been forced to seek loans elsewhere. I must admit, however, that I have never appreciated, until now, how much has been expected from the Mother Country by all her children. If this Conference has achieved nothing else, I think it has taught us to be more reasonable and patient in our demands for monetary assistance from the United Kingdom.

The Colonial Development and Welfare Fund is for the colonies only, and I note that this Fund alone has provided more than £162 million during the ten years between 1946 and 1956. As I have said, this is only one source of finance. When the other United Kingdom sources, both government and private enterprise, are included, the amount is increased to more than £200 million a year for the Commonwealth. I think this is an amazing effort when one considers that the United Kingdom herself has had to do a lot of reconstruction following the ravages of war.



I do not pretend that South Africa is a fully developed country. Although there has been rapid development in our country, during and after the war, we have not accomplished as much as, for instance, Australia. But, of course, our problems are different. We are certainly better developed than some of the countries represented here, but we ourselves want all the capital we can get for development. We make the same appeal as was made by Mr. Abii. If anyone has spare capital, he will find very good investment opportunities in South Africa. We do, however, help the other members of the Commonwealth, in Africa and elsewhere. We play our part in Africa with the different United Nations and other world organizations and we give important direct help in Africa itself. There is in Africa a joint co-operative pool providing technical and scientific assistance which is also available to the countries south of the Sahara whether or not they are independent. This is the Commission for Technical Co-operation South of the Sahara, known as C.C.T.A., and it works together with its associate bodies, the Scientific Council, known as C.S.A., and the Foundation for Mutual Assistance. The original members of this organization were the metropolitan powers, but now it has been joined by the Union of South Africa, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Liberia, Ghana and Guinea. The object of the C.C.T.A. is to pool and exchange technical knowledge. The C.S.A. is a body of independent scientists for the exchange of scientific information and for undertaking special scientific studies. These two bodies, working in close collaboration, have done valuable work, particularly in the fields of human, plant and animal diseases, nutrition, soil conservation and productivity, rural welfare, housing, sociology, forestry and fisheries. Our Veterinary Institute at Onderstepoort has made a valuable contribution towards freeing Africa from animal diseases. Our Council of Scientific and Industrial Research has made its findings of the result of its research available to others.

As I say, we are doing our best to assist our neighbours and other members of the Commonwealth and I am certain that any request for assistance of this nature by any Government will be sympathetically received by our Government. We, Sir, are sympathetic to the problems of other underdeveloped countries, because we have problems of our own, one of which is to reconcile a highly developed modern industrial State with the large majority of its population still living under primitive tribal conditions with little or no conception of the conditions and responsibilities of a modern society. We have in our Union large areas which have been set aside for Bantu occupation. Now, we regard those areas as our underdeveloped areas within our own country. In origin they were those areas of Southern Africa not occupied by the Whites and in which the tribal way of life has persisted relatively unchanged. They fall, for the most part, in the higher rainfall areas of the sub-continent, but are essentially underdeveloped areas of primitive agriculture. The aim in establishing the reserves over 100 years ago was certainly not that of preventing the Bantu from participating in the general economic progress of the country, but exclusion of the Whites, intended to safeguard the rights of ownership of the Bantu, also had the effect of excluding the White industrialist. So we now have embarked on an energetic policy of developing our underdeveloped areas, and the scheme has its foundation on suggestions made here for technical and financial assistance to the inhabitants of those areas. A development corporation with an initial grant of £500,000 was started this year, and I have no doubt that this grant will be increased from time to time as required.

We also have agricultural colleges which we, in fact, started over thirty years ago to assist the Bantu in farming and also to endeavour to improve his methods of farming. The majority of Africans, of course, live outside the reserves, and have become integrated in our economy. They are employed in commerce and industry, in the mines, on the land, and also practise their professions—law, medicine, nursing, and teaching. There is a steady flow of emigrants from the countries of the north seeking employment in South Africa, and since the war we have spent millions of pounds in building new townships with decent homes and schools and providing transport for our African people.

We have made great strides forward, and we could do more if we had more capital and more technical assistance. We are short of scientists, skilled artisans and



teachers, and we are doing our best to recruit them from overseas to help us to develop our economy and so raise the standard of living of all inhabitants.

I will concede that we have complex problems. What we ask for is sympathetic understanding. I believe that the Commonwealth is the greatest factor in the world for promoting peace and understanding and co-operation. There are racial blocs, continental blocs and ideological blocs, urging their points of view in different ways; but the Commonwealth cuts right across geographic, racial, religious and even political differences and, provided that this great far-flung community, held together by nothing but free association and a common desire to see peace in the world and advancement and security for its peoples, can work together by mutual consultation and understanding in Conferences such as this, there is a contribution of incalculable value for all mankind which we can collectively make through our membership of the Commonwealth.

**Hon. Gurdial Singh Dhillon, M.L.A. (Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, Punjab):** Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates, before I proceed I must express my deep thanks to Mr. Michener for having uttered such kind and nice sentiments on the father of our nation, Mahatma Gandhi. At the same time I must express my thanks to Mr. White for the very nice way in which he made reference to our problems.

I am really very proud of the way in which Mr. Sinanan introduced this debate yesterday. However, that a country so vast in resources and in area and population as mine, with such a great past and rich civilization and an ancient culture, should stand up in the role of an underdeveloped country to ask for something just hurts my pride. As you know, Sir, ours was a country which was very proud of its commerce and trade a few centuries back. Every explorer set out to explore India. If he went to America, he named it India. If he went to the West Indies, he called that India. If he went to the East Indies, he called that India. You can imagine what a great embarrassment that was to our country at that time and how people were keen and eager to have trade with us. That only showed our widespread fame as a great manufacturing country. But circumstances conspired against us. We lost our independence at a critical period when every country was undergoing rapid industrial revolutions, when people were moving and expanding to the new worlds and to new territories and unexplored lands. What about us? We just lagged behind. We were left behind in the industrial revolution. We were locked in and blocked in, and we could not get our surplus population to go out of the country. We could not keep pace with scientific progress and industrial revolution and changing techniques. So, our backwardness, our underdeveloped condition, perhaps have not much to do with the lack of resources or anything else, but are due to certain circumstances, much beyond our control.

Nature has its own compensation and remedies. I come from the land of the five rivers. Every year the rivers benefit us. Sometimes they get angry, flood agricultural areas and damage our crops, but we face that with optimism. We know that the silt, the alluvial soil, that they spread will compensate us and that in the coming years it will bring us double the crops. I have visited the volcanic Fuji Mountains areas of Japan. These volcanoes caused great havoc and I know what a blessing in disguise the volcanoes were. The volcanic soil of this region is now the richest in Japan. This little bit of disturbance in our history, the loss of freedom, was accompanied by forces which created a void and a gap. We are sure that nature is going to compensate us for that.

We are bounded by very sweet friends on all sides. We have China on one side, Russia on another side, U.S.A. and the Commonwealth countries on yet another side. Everybody is rushing to fill up that gap. Everybody is wooing us and is sweet to us and eager to fill up the void. Yesterday, I was talking to my friend, Mr. Mukerjee, who showed me a cutting from a paper which indicated that Mr. Khrushchev seems to have painted a very optimistic alternative picture of developing the underdeveloped areas. So, work is continuing on us—China by expansion and extension of their boundaries nearer to us! Russia by sweet and well-meaning offers, and the Commonwealth by love and faith. We are just getting to understand that. We want to choose



the friends we know rather than the ones we do not know. We have chosen you as our friends and companions. The speed may be slow, but it is on surer and on solid ground. We have chosen you because we have known each other. You know us and we know you. We know that there are many common bonds and factors of our friendship, but chiefly democracy and the parliamentary way of living.

I am an habitual traveller. I have travelled in about thirty-five countries. I visited the Indo-China states, Viet Nam, Cambodia, and Laos, and Indonesia a few months back and saw miserable backwardness and underdeveloped conditions, and I happened to find out the relations that existed between the ex-rulers, the Dutch and the French, and the Portuguese, and the native people. I thanked my stars. I said to myself, "If at all by misfortune we had ever to be ruled by any foreign power, thank God it was the British people". When the British were in our country, besides striving to establish good relations between the ruler and the ruled, they laid the foundations of sound administration and a judicial system. When they left, they left behind a consolidated and integrated country. They left with grace and friendship behind them. We fought against them for sixty years, but when they left they left no bitterness behind. I assure you that no visitor is so welcome in India today as an Englishman. Lord Attlee and I were having tea together last evening and we were discussing some Indian problems. I told him that we looked upon him as our friend and benefactor and that we were thankful that he was amongst us.

At the previous two Conferences of the Association, and also at this one, I have found wonderful people sitting around me. I have found friends from Canada and New Zealand. In spite of the fact that so much controversy is going on about South Africa, I have found South African Delegates to be wonderful people socially and to mix with. They are all nice people. I was very much delighted to hear Senator Hayward speaking yesterday of what had been done for the Bantus such as the provision of schools, technical education and housing for the black people. I was reminded of a story. When I was a schoolboy, the history books contained a chapter on "Blessings of the British Rule". It was stated that the British had brought the railways to India, that they had brought the telegraph, schools and hospitals. When I grew up and the independence movement was in full swing and we started crying for our share in the government, for a parliamentary system and for democracy, suddenly one fine morning I found myself behind the bars. During my time in that horrible cell in which I lived, and in which cockroaches, mice and mosquitoes were my companions, I asked another gentleman, who happens to be the chief Minister of Punjab today, "Did you read something about these blessings of the British rule also?"

I wonder if there is here a Bantu representative who could give us an idea of the hidden and unwritten blessings of South African rule. I am a student of constitutional history. We are discussing the underdeveloped areas. Any one country can very well say that it will help another, but I have never heard that one part of a country called itself developed in relation to help given to another part of the same country called underdeveloped and the representative of one section of a country give an account of the development of another section of that country, a section which happens to be thrice the size of that from which the representative giving the account comes. Senator Hayward said he believed in traditions and in customs that were fundamentally different from those of the black people in every single respect. Well, Sir, in my State of Punjab we came from the same ancestors and spoke the same languages, but we happened to be people of two religions. They were split up. Half went to Pakistan and half is with us. In South Africa, in addition to the difference in religion, there is the difference of race, colour, manners and culture. Why don't you separate yourself from coloured people? I wonder where this tradition went? And where did these customs go when you deal with the Bantus and coloured people? We are very much happier with the South Africans individually and socially. I was very much surprised that there was no one to tell us of some of the unwritten blessings of those people for people called the black.

During the last few days we have expressed the same views, except that occasionally there has been a little grumbling that the financial aid given has not been sufficient. Lord Amherst told me that the total population of the Commonwealth countries is



640 million. Look at us. There are 400 million Indians, out of 640 million Commonwealth people. We represent 400 million. With us it is a bad case of the camel and the tent. Every other co-partner in this Commonwealth can get into the tent, but the Indian camel can only put his neck into it. As a result, the camel is cold and hungry. It goes wandering to our friends of the United States of America, and sometimes to countries some of which we do not like. I hope that you will enlarge your tent to allow the whole body of the Indian camel to go in, not merely its neck.

Our economy is mainly a peasant economy. We wish that the economies that are built on industry and exports could be spread sufficiently wide to cover the economies that are uneconomical, such as ours, and thus provide employment in industries which are, so far, the concern of the few. We are very grateful to the United Kingdom for the very kind help that she has given us. At the same time, we are also very thankful to Canada and Australia for their very generous help and technical aid. We feel that the industries which are helped by foreign capital should set apart some portion of their incomes to establish a development fund, or a Commonwealth development corporation. Finance could come from the Government, and also from the Commonwealth countries, as well as from those industries whose incomes at present go purely to a limited business and commercial sector.

We are passing through a transitional stage. Until we become fully industrialized, we hope to sustain the average man by subsidizing his income. We have introduced cottage industries and handicrafts to mitigate unemployment. We know that when we industrialize fully they will become uneconomic, but that day is a long way off. The scheme of cottage industry and handicrafts should be financed, and is certainly worth trying by other backward countries also.

We have known what it means to have an economy predominantly dependent on agriculture and lacking in a diversified pattern of industries and occupations. We have learnt how all these produce widespread unemployment, low nutrition, poor housing, indifferent standards of health, and acute shortage of technical skills.

Some of the studies carried out by the United Nations on the trusteeship areas in Africa and elsewhere have brought into relief some of the principal features of the underdeveloped territories. The most important of these—whether they happen to be in the Commonwealth or elsewhere—is that they are mostly peasant economies, over a large part of which transactions are mainly carried out through barter and entail little use of money, credit and banking. In consequence, the scale of market transactions is very limited and there is hardly scope for the use of capital-using techniques. Nevertheless, in most of these territories there exists side by side a highly monetized and developed sector in which some raw materials are extracted and often processed into goods mainly for export markets. This sector is almost always managed and controlled by external capital. There is, thus, in these territories, a wide gulf set between the developed sector and a highly primitive sector of subsistence agriculture and cottage industries mostly absorbing an overwhelmingly large part of the people of the soil, often as much as nine-tenths, sometimes even more than this proportion of population. No doubt, some people belonging to the territories are able to find employment in the export industries set up with the help of external capital. Also, admittedly a small part of the incomes generated with the help of this capital benefits the indigenous people of the territories. Nevertheless, these are relatively small benefits and one cannot help feeling that the external capital in the underdeveloped territories has yet to make a decisive impact upon the growth of living standards among the indigenous population. It appears to me, Sir, that the central problem of the underdeveloped territories is to ensure how the incomes which are generated by a technically advanced, prosperous export sector built up with the help of external capital, can be harnessed to serve the long-term interests of economic development of the backward subsistence sector.

In the development of the territories appreciable contribution has been made by the United Kingdom. There is first the Colonial Office operating through its wide network of government grants and loans made under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts. It helps forward the underdeveloped territories with expenditure on irrigation, roads, farming, fisheries, forestry, housing, water supplies and health—also, there are separate funds from colonial services and loans made under the export



credit guarantee department. Over and above all this, there is the Colonial Development Corporation which has created large enterprises with a borrowing potential as large as £160 million. Coupled with this, there are sizeable funds borrowed from the World Bank. No doubt all this contribution has been very useful and has surely made some impact upon the economies of these underdeveloped territories. But notwithstanding all this financial assistance, the pace of development of the territories is slow, and considerable scope still exists for the stepping-up of levels of economic development. One of the ways in which the pace can be hastened would be to induce the export industries to utilize at least a sizeable part of the profits that they earn for developing more industries in the areas themselves.

You would readily all agree with me that the more important type of investment in underdeveloped countries is human investment; investment in general education and technical education; investment in skill formation. This type of educational programme ultimately makes an impact upon the psychology of the peasants and the farmers and orients them towards trades and occupations capable of yielding a rising flow of incomes and profits and sustaining rising standards of living. It is a great weakness of a predominantly peasant and subsistence economy that the people who practise it are much too poor to aspire to a steady increase in incomes and expenditure. There is a disconcerting sense of contentment among the people which helps to perpetuate economic stagnation. Stagnation on its part strengthens the hold of fatalism and contentment. Education is perhaps the best means for breaking up this vicious circle.

Lastly, may I make a final observation about the part that the international agencies have played in the large task of investment—human investment as well as fixed capital investment in the underdeveloped territories in the Commonwealth. All of us must acknowledge with gratefulness the massive assistance provided over the last ten to twelve years by the World Bank as well as by the Technical Co-operation Mission in both the fields. In this sphere, also, the efforts should be stepped up in order mainly to make a massive attack on the problems of economic development in the territories.

Not only would it be necessary to augment the flow of funds but to augment also the supply of talent through the Technical Co-operation Mission. In this sphere also the contribution in the shape of human investment would perhaps be more important than that of fixed capital investment. Let us hope that the sharing of knowledge and talent and the training of talent may be taken by international agencies on an increasingly large scale, as the years go by.

**Hon. A. Casely-Hayford, M.P. (Ghana):** Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, I essay a contribution to this debate, because Ghana belongs to the underdeveloped territories, as most of us understand that term. As was said in an earlier debate, our most urgent need is for capital. We feel that we are entitled to assistance, and we claim that we are entitled to every assistance from the other Commonwealth countries. Let us not forget the toil and sweat that the people of some of the countries which are considered to be underdeveloped expended when, in the early days, some of them were carried across the ocean to various countries to help build up the economy of those early empires.

I would again remind my friends here that Ghana, for quite a considerable time past, has been the second biggest dollar-earning group in the Commonwealth of Nations—second only to Malaya, with its tin and other products. The Gold Coast, as it then was—Ghana as it is now—by virtue of cocoa exports has earned a considerable number of dollars for the Commonwealth group. It is true, as a colleague reminds me, that South African gold has also made a contribution, but Ghana remains the second biggest dollar earner.

Since independence we have gradually come to claim a slightly greater share in the entitlement to spend such dollars as we earn for the group. We shall continue progressively to claim such an interest because, as we progress, we shall need more agricultural implements, and implements for development generally, from countries such as the United States in the dollar group. We are likely, by virtue of our contacts



and our economic background, to remain in the Sterling Area. After political freedom, it is natural that we should seek economic freedom.

There is a great need in our country for technical aid. It is submitted that the help which we need for our technical advancement is not necessarily of the highest order. What do I mean by that? There is a need today in Ghana, as I think there is in other underdeveloped territories, not so much for the highly qualified engineer who designs an intricate bridge, for the shipbuilder or the designer of the latest jet aircraft, as for the practical type of village foreman, attached to the development schemes in a small area, who is required to throw a bridge hastily across an earthwork which has broken down as the result of excessive rain, or to build a feeder road which links some useful interior spot where agricultural produce abounds—be it cocoa or food generally—with the major trunk roads. Our requirement today is for the training of people at that level—the practical people that are needed in these remote areas—and this requirement I beg to emphasize.

Again, in matters of agricultural research and other matters relating to our agricultural economy, we do not today, unlike the past, need Bachelors of Science from Reading University, from Oxford or from Cambridge to man our agricultural departments and give us lectures on the scientific side of agriculture. But we need more and more every day, as our development grows, the practical planter who knows all about the cultivation of bananas—the practical planter from the Canary Islands, from Panama or from any other place where bananas are grown. We need the practical man from America who is used to the tilling and cultivation of the ground in the production of peanuts, or ground nuts, as we know them better. We need sugar planters to tell us how to grow cane in rows in order to avoid disease the more easily by spraying it and keeping it healthy.

Here, there is a great need for my friends from South Africa and from other similar countries to bear in mind the useful part that they can play by deciding always to remain in this Commonwealth, if they are fired by the desire, as are many others in the Commonwealth, to help the other units in the Commonwealth and give them a lift up. I have in mind particularly the fact that, as has been pointed out by a previous speaker, most of the needs of these underdeveloped territories can more easily be supplied by some of the newer countries in the Commonwealth. As I said earlier, we grow cocoa in Ghana, but cocoa does not grow in England. We grow pineapples. Pineapples do not grow in England. We grow sugar cane and many other products which do not come from Great Britain, but which are grown in other parts of the Commonwealth. So we look a great deal to those countries for help and direction in the better cultivation of crops of this kind.

But what is it that I had in mind particularly with respect to our friends in South Africa? We have a great deal in common with them in problems relating to diseases of crops that grow in their country and ours, and problems of soil erosion and soil conservation. The problems of soil erosion and soil conservation are found to a certain degree in Canada, and possibly in Australia, but they are seriously found more in South Africa than elsewhere. I stand to be corrected, but I believe that the only university in the Commonwealth—I do not know about the world outside the Commonwealth—where one can obtain a degree of a practical kind in soil conservation and soil irrigation is one of the universities in South Africa. I believe it is the University of Witwatersrand.

**Mr. Jan H. Visse, M.P. (*Union of South Africa*):** And Stellenbosch University, too!

**Mr. Casely-Hayford:** And also at Stellenbosch. The door should be thrown open, without any consideration whatsoever, to students from Ghana, from West Africa or from anywhere else who, on their own initiative and at their own expense, find their way to South Africa, in order that they may qualify in this all-important science which is of such importance to the preservation of our land eroded by our heavy tropical rains. But not only that. One looks forward to a time in the not distant future—and the earlier the better—when South Africa, like any other Commonwealth country, will be so broad-minded, bearing in mind the specialized knowledge it has



in that country of this subject, gained from local experience, as to establish scholarships—half a dozen, a dozen, or even more—to enable students from Ghana to go to the University of Witwatersrand and the other University, which my friend from South Africa has so kindly specified for me, and qualify in this science in order to be able to return to Ghana and teach their countrymen.

We look, also, to other Commonwealth countries for help in gaining the technical knowledge and know-how which we need, as I have said, for the practical cultivation of the various agricultural products that we grow in common with those other countries. We have already had great help from eminent agriculturists like Professor Phillips, from South Africa, who was invited to our country and who is actually engaged in the government service. I render no apology for mentioning by name others who have helped us. One of them, named Smuts, is a descendant of the great Smuts of South Africa, and is actually in our service now teaching us how to build dams. However, we want to go further and send our own people to South Africa to qualify in these skills in order that they may come back, teach their countrymen and carry out the practical work required. For this reason, I say that it is in the interests of the Commonwealth as a whole to see to it that South Africa always remains close to us in the work which lies ahead of us all.

This idea is important also even in relation to the more advanced sciences of today, and I refer particularly to atomic research. It may sound fantastic to my colleagues in the Commonwealth, if they are not alive to the fact, that even we in countries such as Ghana and Nigeria need to learn something of these advances, so that, when atomic power is completely harnessed for industrial purposes, we also may be able to bridge the gulf and know sufficient about atomic science to enable us to turn from steam and electricity to industrial atomic power. The time has come when a beginning should be made in affording us opportunities to learn something about these things in order that we may all move together in this world advance which is so rapid today. Indeed, let us bear in mind that we are inheritors of the present age and are doing all we can to bridge this gulf and to jump, in half a century, from the world in which we lived, where we were cut off from all the modern things that make for the advancement which has gone so far in the world today.

My time is up, and I am not able to develop this interesting topic any further. I render no apology for leaving it with you and for making a strong appeal on behalf of Ghana and the other underdeveloped territories to the other Commonwealth countries to ensure that they are well alive to the problems, and seek an early solution to them.

**Mr. J. J. Steyn, M.L.C. (United Federal Party Whip, Northern Rhodesia):** Mr. Deputy Chairman, at the outset I, too, would like to join previous speakers in expressing thanks to Australia and its wonderful people.

After listening to Delegates describing the very great problems of some of the other countries, I almost came to the conclusion that my country has not any problems at all. I think that I am correct in saying that the people in my country enjoy a comparatively high standard of living. That does not mean to say that we are complacent and that we do not wish to raise the standard of living of our people. We are continuously striving to reach better standards. Unfortunately, our territory is almost wholly what has been termed a one-commodity country. That commodity is copper. I may say that tobacco also plays a small part in the economy of our country, but we are very vulnerable to fluctuations of the price of copper. We had a recession recently, when the price of copper dropped to £160 per ton.

At present, we are trying to develop our secondary industries, and we are in the process of setting up an Industrial Development Corporation. One of the tasks that was set for me when I came to Australia was to seek a man from Australia or from some other part of the Commonwealth to be appointed chief executive of our newly set-up Industrial Development Corporation. The Government is also prepared to assist financially any secondary industries which wish to become established in our country. We are confident that we can, and will, attract the necessary capital, provided always that there is an atmosphere of political stability.



It is at this point that I want to ask for assistance from all the countries represented here. I ask for assistance, not only from the overdeveloped, or well developed countries, but also from the underdeveloped countries. The assistance we require is understanding—the understanding that we have our own domestic difficulties and problems, and that we are trying to overcome these problems, having regard for the welfare of every man, woman and child in our country. We have embarked on a bold experiment in Africa—a policy of true partnership of all the races. Unfortunately, this policy cannot be fully implemented overnight; these things take time. We are sure that we can succeed, but we must have understanding from the other members of the Commonwealth.

Some conferences of a certain type that are held in some parts of the Commonwealth, at which seditious resolutions are passed, cannot do our country or the people much good. These should be discouraged by the Governments of, and the politicians in the countries where these conferences are held.

Another cause of irritation arises from the itinerant politicians who come to our country on what they term fact-finding tours. They spend two or three weeks in our country and then return to their own land, 5,000 miles away, where they try to solve our problems for us. These things do not do any good. They can only help a few power-hungry demagogues who are not interested in the welfare of the people in our country.

We are not asking for agreement with all our policies. Even our political opponents in our own country do not agree at all times with Government policies. We are asking for understanding—the understanding that our domestic problems can best be solved by the legislators who are answerable for, and who have to live with, the solution, as they have done with the problem.

**Hon. Learie N. Constantine, M.B.E., M.L.C. (Minister of Works and Transport, Trinidad and Tobago):** Mr. Deputy Chairman and Members of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, Professor William Macmillan, in a book written before the war entitled *Warning from the West Indies*, stated that any study of the West Indies is a study in depression. At Cambridge, in July of this year, a Conference under the aegis of the Royal Institute of Public Administration was convened to go into questions associated with administration, organization, and economic development. I should like to read the following passage from a pamphlet that was issued so that the Delegates here may see that the subjects that were discussed at Cambridge are relevant to what we are discussing here today:

Economic development, as the Montreal Conference bore witness, is the vital and immediate concern of all countries in the Commonwealth. Upon it depends the standards of living of their peoples and their social and political progress for many years to come.

Governments now bear an ever-increasing responsibility for the speed and success of economic development. It is they who must try to create the climate conducive to economic development, formulate the long-term plans and provide many of the means for their efficient execution. To discharge this responsibility in the way that its importance demands, Governments must have at their disposal a well-forged organization capable of comprehending the task as a whole and suitable administrative instruments to give shape and substance to its various parts.

In the belief that Governments within the Commonwealth will welcome an opportunity at this particular time to examine afresh the salient questions of Administrative Organization for Economic Development, the Royal Institute of Public Administration has arranged a Conference. . . .

It seems to me that this organization is already established to deal with the requirements of several Branches in relation to the underdeveloped territories of the Commonwealth. We divided ourselves into groups and my group discussed these subjects: special difficulties of underdeveloped countries; the problem of estimating financial resources; the problem of skilled personnel; planning considerations; the



mobilization of internal resources of capital; and the effect of capital schemes on revenue expenditure. The point I want to make is that, if there can be some co-ordination between those who were responsible for that Conference, and some substance from this Conference can be passed on to them, provided there is a will, I cannot see why a greater effort cannot be made to overcome the difficulties that are now being experienced by the underdeveloped territories.

On 11th October, 1959, our Premier, Dr. Eric Williams, broadcast a brief report on the Inter-Governmental Conference on the Federal Constitution that had recently been held. The representatives of some countries had expressed an apprehension of economic strangulation if the countries were granted their independence. Dr. Williams tried to convince them that that was not likely, and he went on to say:

If development and welfare grants are no longer available to the West Indies when it becomes a Dominion, we can get assistance from the Commonwealth as distinct from colonial sources as Ghana has been promised. Nigeria, which is to get its independence in October, 1960, has just been promised a loan of \$72 million from the United Kingdom and Ceylon has just received a loan of \$2 million from the United Kingdom. Between 1958 and 1959 United Kingdom assistance to Commonwealth countries amounted to \$211 million as against \$245 million to colonial countries, and it seemed to us of the Trinidad and Tobago Delegation that, if the United Kingdom can make loans and grants to foreign countries like Jordan, Turkey, Libya, and Yugoslavia, and for the relief of Palestine refugees, it is unthinkable that the West Indies would cease to qualify for financial assistance in one form or another merely because it achieved Dominion status.

As one example we gave the activities of the Colonial Development Finance Company with an authorized capital of \$144 million, whose shareholders include the Bank of England. Enterprises aided by this Institute include the Federal Power Board of Rhodesia, the Industrial Finance Corporation of South Africa, the Development Finance Corporation of Ceylon, the Industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India, the Central Electricity Board of Malaya, the Pakistan Industrial and Investment Corporation, and the New Zealand Cement Company.

In addition there are a whole series of international and foreign as well as Commonwealth institutions and agencies which now give assistance in one form or another to former colonies. One example is the Colombo Plan for East and South-East Asia. India, which has received much assistance from this source, also received quite recently a loan of \$100 million from the United States, assistance to the tune of \$17 million from Canada, a loan of \$40 million from the West German Republic, a loan of \$10 million from Japan and a loan of \$1½ million from the International Finance Investment Corporation.

With this quotation, I am illustrating that the will to find money is there. We must acknowledge the great and important part already played by Britain in finding money for these underdeveloped countries. I want to suggest that it is not beyond man's ingenuity to organize, as my friend, Mr. Keating, from New Zealand, said, a little further and a little deeper, so that the depression which we know and experience in the West Indies can be enveloped in this large plan.

I would like to make what I believe is a very solid contribution to our meeting here. We know that there is a shortage of money. In every country that is emerging from colonialism, compare the pattern and you will find a shortage of technical men. In my time, it was difficult for any West Indian who studied engineering to find a job in engineering. This was a position reserved for the expatriate. Now that we are becoming free, we find that we have not the technical know-how and that we are lagging behind. We cannot develop our resources. The whole colonial world, becoming free, finds itself in this difficulty of getting technical advice. The Commonwealth can help in that regard. You do not need a lot of money.

I want to make an appeal to certain members present to go back to their Governments and ask them to see what scholarships they can offer to those who come from



the underprivileged and the underdeveloped countries so that, in a short time, we can have those men back in our country, making a profitable contribution to the progress of our country within the British Commonwealth. Last year, the scholarships that we offered increased to 400, from a mere fifteen or twenty, because we realized that progress cannot be made in our country unless we have men who know how to push on that progress.

Australia can make its contribution. Here, I would like to pay tribute to the Rotary Club of Perth, which has already started a fund to offer one scholarship for a member of my country to come here and study engineering. The Australian Rules Football Club of Melbourne is considering a similar offer. I want Australians present to realize that a friend is one who knows all about you, and loves you just the same. I have gone around aboriginal settlements with one of the aborigine's best friends, Pastor Nicholls, a man rewarded for his work by the M.B.E. I have seen hungry children at the age of nine, with marks under their eyes and with bodies which cannot be said to be consistent with health. I want to make one appeal to Australians. The whole world is watching you in Papua and New Guinea. Because of your background, we believe that you have a special knowledge and ability to handle this sort of problem. I appeal to Australians to introduce small kitchens into the aborigines' schools so that some aborigines may be taught about a balanced diet and so that little children may be saved from a future of ill-health. It has not only been thought, but said, that the extinction of the aboriginal people is consistent with the White Australia Policy. I do not believe that there is any truth in that. If I am put to the test, I can produce my witnesses, but it is a bad thing that that should be bruited about as part of your policy.

I have heard one of the Delegates from Kenya say that the depressions that have been mentioned are questions of psychology, not of need. I can now understand why so many coloured politicians who have made an effort to convert psychology into reality have been deprived of their freedom. I am sure that my friends Jomo Kenyatta and Dr. Hastings Banda would not want the life of anybody to be forfeited merely because they could not get their own way. I would refuse to believe otherwise, unless they told me so themselves. In 1945 I attended a Conference in Manchester which shaped the future of Ghana. My friend Dr. Nkrumah and my friend George Padmore were there, and all those who love independence were there. They were militant and unafraid. They wanted freedom. So did I. So if I have a reputation for being a little difficult, I must be forgiven by my friends. I, too, have understood what democracy is, and I want to share in it.

**Hon. J. K. Babiiha, M.L.C. (Uganda):** Mr. Chairman, it is with great pleasure that I take this opportunity to represent the Uganda Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. On behalf of my Branch, I wish to express gratitude for the high hospitality that has been accorded to me during my stay in Australia, and I shall convey my impressions to my colleagues and the people of Uganda whom I represent. However, it is unfortunate that this Conference is to last only a week, because speeches on main subjects to be discussed by each speaker have to be stories in a nutshell. I wish the Conference could last for three weeks, so that one could talk for an hour or more.

I have observed that all of the important points generally affecting the underdeveloped countries in the Commonwealth have been exhaustively expounded by all the previous speakers. In the circumstances, therefore, I shall not be repetitive and thereby bore the Conference, but shall be brief and to the point in regard to three problems affecting Uganda in particular and other East African territories in general.

The problems of the underdeveloped countries are fundamentally of an economic nature. Economically, any underdeveloped country wishes to see an evolutionary process from the stage of subsistence economy to that of modern economic patterns. When I say this, I do not mean that progress should be achieved at a snail's pace. However, due to rapid advancement in the present age, the phraseology "gradual evolution" is becoming obsolete, and underdeveloped countries wish to see accelerated revolutionary economic methods, otherwise subversive ideologies will take advantage



of the low standards of living in underdeveloped countries and thus wind back the clock of advancement. We want a "quick march" and not a "slow march".

The first important problem is that of capital investment. Uganda, like other underdeveloped countries, would like capital investment from advanced Commonwealth countries and their friendly allies, in order to raise the standards of living by embarking on the pursuit of modern agrarian production objectives, industrial development, and subsequently by establishing trade relations and appointing diplomatic representatives in other young Commonwealth countries in which there are no such representatives at present. However, whereas newspapers in the world, and in the Commonwealth in particular, are informative today, yet they become destructive by sensationally threatening investors in underdeveloped countries when they exaggerate political issues in the economically backward countries. It is, therefore, high time that the journalists of the Commonwealth countries had annual Conferences to consider how to strike a balance in their news releases instead of washing dirty linen of any Commonwealth country in public, and thereby exposing that country to the infiltration of elements of international Communism. It has been said by some people in certain countries that it is of no use to spoon-feed backward countries, but these people have forgotten the fact that it is useless to spend all the taxpayers' money in exploring other planets, while conditions of living and economic stability in this planet on which we live leave much to be desired in many important fields for the benefit of mankind.

The second point is the lack of knowledge of economic conditions in advanced countries. Suspicion in young countries of new methods of production arises from lack of knowledge of economics in the Western world. Education, I presume, is the answer. Therefore, I appeal to such advanced Commonwealth countries as Australia, Canada, and New Zealand to consider scholarship schemes on the Colombo Plan pattern, so as to admit a number of graduates into their universities for post-graduate qualification in such subjects as economics, the application of science to agricultural production, industrial development, and engineering. Quite a number of people from Uganda go each year to the United Kingdom, the U.S.A., India and Pakistan, and we are very grateful to those Commonwealth countries and the friendly United States. The moral obligation of spreading elements of civilization in young territories of the Commonwealth rests on these other Commonwealth countries, which I have quoted, if the Commonwealth is to achieve a fraternal and strong solidarity that will give an outstanding example to the rest of the world. Study tours by leaders and chiefs of young territories would also be of educational value. The chiefs who return from study tours in the United Kingdom show beneficial results. The United States of America is also arranging a similar scheme for the leaders and chiefs of Uganda. Some of these have returned in the last two years. What they study during their short stays in oversea countries is of practical importance when they modify what they have observed to fit the conditions obtaining in their countries.

The third important problem is the bearing of international markets upon underdeveloped countries of the Commonwealth. This is so important a factor that I am not speaking only for Uganda and the two neighbouring territories, but for all the primary producing British dependencies through the length and breadth of the African continent. At the present stage in the three territories of East Africa, the production of coffee and cotton and the revenue derived therefrom constitute the very blood that runs in the veins of the country and its people as far as income-earning power at national and individual levels is concerned. Before the orientation of a certain degree of industrialization and any other means of diversification of economy, the matter should receive immediate attention by all concerned.

Primary producing countries in underdeveloped areas have never been shielded against fluctuating prices in international markets. They fall victims to economic pressures, such as strikes and subsequent rises of wages in factories and credit squeezes for which they have neither responsibility nor concern. The producing countries in that respect are victims of the fleeting wind of circumstances obtaining in complex economic societies. They have to sell their raw materials with delivery



dates, but they buy the finished commodities from manufacturing countries without delivery dates.

The question is open to dispute and careful judgment when certain economic events arise from problems created by circumstances in advanced countries of the West or East, with a complex economy, and somehow or other have a bearing on the young emerging countries. The formation of isolated economic solidarities outside the Commonwealth throws a great burden upon the underdeveloped countries of the Commonwealth. An outstanding example of this is the Common European Market, to which advanced Commonwealth countries have been giving a careful study to safeguard the interests of primary producers in underdeveloped countries, but the results have been to no purpose so far. Up to the present, the Conferences in New York, Montreal, Paris, Geneva, and the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London have not yet had any effect upon the member States of the Common European Market. At present, for instance, the Treaty of Rome, upon which constitution are based the trade transactions of the Common European Market, might affect East Africa's exports of cotton and coffee.

The six countries that are now members of the Common European Market have been buying 6 million tons of coffee from East Africa, including Uganda. If they wish to continue to buy Uganda and East Africa coffee, they would be expected to pay 16 per cent. duty, whereas the Belgian territory of Congo and the self-governing countries within the French Union would be free from such duty. As far as Uganda is concerned, cotton and coffee form approximately 85 per cent. of its exports. The revenue of Uganda, like that of our Commonwealth neighbours, would be greatly affected, thereby creating a problem in the availability of major sources of development finance. This causes young countries to look to the United Kingdom Treasury for Exchequer loans or to apply for loans from the London market, and it cannot be helped in such circumstances. But how long will that go on? For instance, in Uganda which is at this stage an agricultural country, a greater part of revenue is derived from the production and export of cotton and coffee to overseas countries at an annual value of approximately £35 million out of a total export trade of some £50 million. The balance-of-payments position very approximately shows annual receipts of £60 million and annual payments of £52 million, thereby leaving a balance of £8 million which is reflected in the revenue from such small items as hides and skins, tea and tobacco. It is at this juncture that advanced Commonwealth societies should do their level best to find an approach to the European Economic Community with a view to achieving a justified general agreement on tariff and trade, and removing such economic isolationism.

Another equally important factor is the complex international formula of currency exchange, which affects sterling zones in trade transactions between underdeveloped countries and overseas countries. The money of underdeveloped countries becomes subject to depreciation in value in dollar areas and other countries. A careful study of these problems affecting particularly underdeveloped countries will pave a road to the attainment of better standards of living and modern patterns of economic, social and political aspects during the period of evolutionary process from the old to the new cultural backgrounds.

I have to express thanks to you on behalf of the Uganda Branch for listening to my humble views and wish all Members, representing Commonwealth countries' success and brotherly spirit, to study carefully the problems that are affecting the young countries, as prosperity for these emerging States will be pride for the noble achievement of all the Commonwealth and will subsequently throw an imperishable light on the future of this fraternal solidarity whose sole objective is to maintain world peace, freedom and rights of the individual and universal moral standards.

**Hon. David Atolagbe, M.H.A. (Western Nigeria):** Mr. Chairman, we people of the underdeveloped areas appreciate the help that the more developed countries of the Commonwealth, such as the United Kingdom, have given us. In taking part in this discussion, we will state our needs. We do this, not because we wish to beg but because this is the subject that we are discussing.



I endorse *in toto* the short but comprehensive address of Captain Robertson of Rhodesia. The address portrayed him as a person indeed living in one of the less developed areas of the Commonwealth. He is in possession of the true picture of our problems in the underdeveloped areas. Our problems centre mainly on education, health, communication, agriculture and food, housing and industry. It is not my intention to repeat our problems in the fields that I have just listed, but there is one aspect of the problem of education which, I think, needs to be given more emphasis, and that is the need for mass education.

There are millions of children of the Commonwealth who naturally have first-class brains, but their brains are being wasted for lack of training. Today, the Commonwealth—by this I really mean the United Kingdom—has degenerated to a third- or fourth-class world power. I do not mean that we will be going to war tomorrow, but there is certainly pride in belonging to a first-class power. If we want to come back to the position of a first-class world power, or compete in hitting the moon—and mark you, there are other things coming which are more rewarding than sending out sun satellites—what we should do now is to send all the children of the Commonwealth to school and give them free education as far as each child deserves. Education of all children is an investment which cannot fail to yield paying dividends. One speaker here yesterday said that it is no use educating people if there is no place for them to use their education. I consider this statement to be dangerous and misleading. We must strive for mass education of the children of the Commonwealth now. Whether we educate all our children or not, the problem of unemployment will rear its ugly head. It is we who must be prepared for it.

In Nigeria at the moment we have a qualified system of free primary education in the Western Region and in the federal territory of Lagos. I said “qualified”, because while the Government builds all the schools, furnishes and equips them and trains and pays the teachers, pupils, other than first-year pupils, must pay for their books. In Eastern Nigeria pupils in the high classes in the primary department have to pay school fees. In Northern Nigeria there is no form of free primary education on the mass scale as yet. Our handicap, all over the country, is as usual the old problem of finance.

I have told you how far we have gone in Nigeria in solving this problem, so that you may know that we in the underdeveloped areas are not unconcerned, and that we are not asking for assistance which we do not deserve. Our problem and difficulty in primary education, mainly concerned with finance, extends into the high schools and colleges, where we find also a dearth of trained personnel. To help in solving the problem of unemployment, we in Nigeria have had to provide technical schools. Here also we are badly handicapped by a shortage of trained teachers, and in this matter we certainly believe that older members of the Commonwealth can help us. At the moment our help comes, as usual, largely from the United Kingdom.

Let me now say a word about health in the underdeveloped territories. In these areas the rate of infant mortality is among the highest in the world. Diseases are rampant and thousands meet untimely deaths, either because of ignorance or lack of medical care at the right time. Here again, mass education is a prerequisite in combating ignorance. In addition, our hospitals are far from being adequate, and there are too few trained doctors and medical technicians. It has been found that many patients in the underdeveloped areas have not gone to hospitals because of ignorance, but more people refrained from going to hospitals because the nearest available hospitals were too far away, and they could not afford the cost of travelling. Many more still did not attend hospitals, even though they were near at hand, because they could not pay the medical expenses.

In many states in Nigeria we have free medical treatment for all children up to the age of eighteen years. This is a rare benefit in underdeveloped areas. But even in Nigeria no provision has yet been made for free medical treatment for old people and the very poor members of the public. I know also that none of the underdeveloped territories has, as yet, any old age pension scheme. The international medical unit of the United Nations Organization has done good work in Nigeria, but its work is



confined only to a few special types of diseases. It is mainly preventive in nature and does not involve treatment.

Another quite serious problem in the underdeveloped areas of the Commonwealth is that of housing. This is closely connected with the health problem. Most people are living in houses of one sort or another, but in very many cases they are not good houses and not designed to promote good health. Many houses have no windows, or have inadequate windows and tiny doors. Even where the picture is not quite as woeful as this, there is overcrowding. In Nigeria both the Federal and the Regional Governments have attacked the problem with vigour, but I am sure that in the Commonwealth as a whole the problem of housing is an acute one for the underdeveloped territories.

**Mr. J. J. Rhatigan, M.L.A. (*Western Australia*):** Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates, the problems of underdeveloped countries have been ably and adequately discussed, and I do not think there is very much ground remaining for me to cover. However, I shall add my small contribution to the discussion. I feel most confident that a gathering such as this must ultimately be of great value to the countries represented, and as far as Australia is concerned it could not be other than most beneficial. We have met and associated as fellow human beings. We have got to know one another's points of view and to understand them very well.

We must realize that developmental capital is scarce in countries such as Great Britain and France, and, of course, in Australia as well. Many countries, including Australia, have undeveloped land, and they are all making efforts to put this land into production. Since World War II we have seen the creation of twenty new nations in Africa and Asia, some five of which are represented here today. Included within the boundaries of these twenty nations are 700 million people. The total area of their territories is 5 million square miles, which is nearly twice the size of Australia.

The Far East, including China, Japan and India, produces only 32 per cent. of the world's goods. At the same time it has 55 per cent. of the world's population. By contrast, the United States and Canada account for more than 23 per cent. of the world's productive capacity, although they have only about 8 per cent. of the world's population. Australia, I think, has nothing to be ashamed of in her contribution to the Colombo Plan. As Mr. Calwell has said, Australia has contributed about £30 million. It has been given in the form of transport and earth-moving equipment and food. The provision of food, particularly by Australia, Canada and the United States, has helped to release some domestic capital in underdeveloped countries which otherwise would have been spent on food consumption. I think the Colombo Plan should be extended to include other countries, if this is at all practicable. I would like to see also the establishment of apprenticeship schemes and technical colleges. The main method of achieving this end is by the provision of skilled experts, but naturally it is not something that can be achieved in a short time. However, we must start as soon as possible on this project.

In my own electorate of Kimberley we have much undeveloped land. With the grant that has been made by the Commonwealth Government we are moving forward, and have now taken the first step that will undoubtedly lead to the development and closer settlement of this area.

**Dr. Louis S. Steenkamp, M.P. (*Union of South Africa*):** Mr. Chairman, right at the outset I wish to direct a few remarks to my friend, Mr. Casely-Hayford, from Ghana. In an excellent and moderate speech he made an appeal specially to South Africa for technical help.

To him and his colleagues may I say immediately—and I think I speak on behalf also of the Government and not only of the Opposition of South Africa—that our experts, our scientists and technical officers and whatever or whoever is wanted in Ghana, are at their disposal for the asking. With Ghana we have the closest connexion. We work in close co-operation in certain matters as was indicated this morning by my friend, Mr. Casely-Hayford; we have experts in Ghana at the moment.



From a South African Press report this morning, it seems that South Africa and Ghana are on the point of exchanging diplomatic officers. It is extremely encouraging news and I want to say to the Governments of both Ghana and South Africa—again speaking on behalf of the Opposition in South Africa—that such a move will have our fullest support, our blessing. To Ghana, as well as to other territories in Africa, may I say: “Our experts are at your disposal too. We would like to help you, we would like to be of service to Africa and to any other member of the Commonwealth”.

At this late stage, Mr. Chairman, it would be futile for me to probe deeper into a subject on which you and I, after two days’ discussion, are fully informed. I will, therefore, discard my carefully prepared notes and refer briefly to a few matters raised during the debate.

I would like to refer, firstly, to the fact that we have had during the past two days the same plea from underdeveloped territories as we had in India two years ago. It seems to me that nothing has been done in the interim to satisfy the needs of these territories or their people. I wonder, therefore, whether the time has not come for us to get down to realities and to the practical issues and to appoint a commission or committee to deal with these matters after discussion such as we have had during the past two days? Secondly, I want to congratulate my friend from the West Indies, Mr. Sinanan, who introduced this Motion so objectively, so eloquently, with such sincerity and with such a keen sense of reality. In congratulating Mr. Sinanan I must not fail to refer to my friend from Nigeria, Mr. Abii, my friend from Jamaica, Mr. Coke, and my friend from the Punjab, who, I think, was less fortunate in his remarks. I want to say to my friend from the Punjab, with all due deference and all due respect, that his remarks about South Africa were uncalled for and, as far as his criticism of South Africa is concerned, may I say that our efforts on behalf of our less privileged, our underdeveloped wards, compare very favourably with anything that has been done or is being done for the poor in the Punjab or, as a matter of fact, in India. I know, of course, that comparisons are odious, so please forgive me for referring to this matter, but, as I understood it, South Africa had been attacked. May I say, too, that we in South Africa are proud of the fact that we are able to do what we are doing for our underdeveloped peoples.

To my friend from Nigeria who had a twinkle in his eye when he told his story of the three nurses with the three children, one of them an emaciated, thin little child as a result of neglect by its nurse—may I say, again with all due deference, that in South Africa he would find only the two fat children!

I have learnt to know and to understand my friend from Jamaica, Mr. Coke, and to respect him. He has made a very friendly request to us from South Africa. He said that we should act in such a way that he and his friends will not be forced to think of us as they do. I do not know what he thinks of us, but I want to tell him this: he has now met South Africans from South Africa and I have the audacity to think that he has found in us integrity, a sense of responsibility and a deep realization of our Christian duty. We here represent our people, and what he has found in us, he will also find in our people. Our people, too, just as peoples in the other countries of the Commonwealth, have integrity, exercise responsibility and are fully aware of their Christian duty, and we will certainly not, even if only for economic reasons, neglect or oppress one of the biggest assets the Almighty has placed in our hands in South Africa.

May I proceed further and say that much of the misunderstanding in the world today with reference to South Africa and the Bantu is caused by misinterpretation of our intentions? My friends, what I ask you to do, is not to misinterpret, but to appreciate what South Africa is doing or what we are trying to do; to appreciate the fact that those people we are discussing—namely, the underdeveloped people in the underdeveloped areas of South Africa—are part and parcel, an integral part, of South Africa. They are South Africa, and it would indeed be foolish on our part if we neglected the greatest asset that, as I have said, the Almighty has given us and it is for that reason that a small white population can spend £40 million to £50 million annually on the upliftment and benefit of the non-European peoples in South Africa. It is for that purpose we are building thousands and thousands of houses for them. It is for that



reason we have 1,250,000 children—52 per cent. of the Bantu children of school-going age—in thousands of schools we have built for them, as well as a number of universities for their students, and all this in less than fifty years since Union.

Mr. Chairman, you must not expect the impossible. But I can give you the assurance—and I make no apology for discussing it—that South Africa is proud of its achievement, and we sincerely trust that it will soon be possible to spend not £40 million or £50 million but £100 million or £150 million for the benefit of our non-European races in our country, so that both they and we can live happily together in a country which is as much theirs as it is ours. We would then have a South Africa in which both they and we could live happily together and could contribute even more liberally towards the welfare, not only of South Africa, but also of Africa.

To those of you who have prejudged the issue, I have nothing to say. I have nothing to say to you, for yours is a shadow show where light is unwelcome. The majority present here, however, are prepared to learn and listen to facts. If you do not believe me, come to South Africa. You will be welcome to come, to study and see for yourselves. If you come I shall be one of those who will accompany you so that you may see what we are doing, what we have achieved or are endeavouring to achieve for our less fortunate people.

**Mr. Fred Bowman, M.L.C. (*British Guiana*):** Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates, before I begin my speech proper, I would like to make a passing remark. When I was a young man I read a novel entitled *At the Mercy of Tiberius*, in which a mother was addressing her daughter. However, in this case it would not be a mother addressing her daughter, but a son addressing his mother, and of the mother saying, “You are obstinate and ungrateful. You would prefer to see me suffer and die rather than bend your stubborn pride in efforts to obtain relief for me. Time presses and if I die for want of aid, you will be responsible. The time will come when you will reproach yourself and you will regret what you have done”.

We are discussing the complex and manifold problems of the underdeveloped countries of the Commonwealth. From what has been said by most of the Delegates who have spoken on this subject, I think it will be safe to say that most of us are faced with practically the same sort of problems, the chief of which is the economic problem. Relative to the subject which was discussed earlier, the subject of economic co-operation within the Commonwealth, I do not think that the need for greater economic co-operation can be overemphasized by anyone at this Conference. If the problems with which we are faced are to be solved, there must be greater economic co-operation, greater investment in the underdeveloped countries, or less regimentation and restriction on the part of the British Government which controls our relations with countries outside of the Commonwealth.

I feel, therefore, that the onus for taking the initiative in this direction rests squarely on the shoulders of the senior well-to-do members of the Commonwealth. If you continue to show the sort of reluctance that you have shown in the past, things are certainly going to get worse and worse. That is something which should not be allowed to happen. We should be given the right to seek financial assistance in countries like the United States, if the big Commonwealth countries cannot help us. We should have the right to seek aid, by means of loans or grants, or aid in whatever other form we can get it from countries outside the Commonwealth. Are we going to allow ourselves to be starved? The seeking of loans and the negotiating of credits of any kind, whether they be for the purchase of machinery, tools or food, should be allowed us without the British Government having to sanction it. That is my firm belief.

I stress this point as a reminder that this is the second half of the twentieth century. The eyes of the entire world are open today. By this, I mean that the peoples of the underdeveloped countries of the Commonwealth and even those outside the Commonwealth have come to realize that all things in this world are subject to change, that nothing is static. Things may appear to be changeless, but they are not really so. Nothing lasts for ever. I want to remind my fellow Delegates that today certain forces are at work. Many of us believe them to be forces that are evil, forces that are capable



of wielding tremendous influences which could work to the detriment of the Commonwealth.

I say this, because in my country today, of a population of approximately 536,000 about 60,000 cannot find work. Our young men and women are resorting to crimes of all sorts, simply because they cannot find anything to do. When a man is hungry he is apt to do anything, and he may think anything. He may cease to appreciate this much-prized and laudable institution which all of us regard so highly—I refer to democratic parliamentary government. Our birth-rate is rising steadily. Children are leaving school at the rate of between 5,000 and 6,000 each year and are joining the ranks of the unemployed. Can you not visualize what unemployment and want can do to the minds of youngsters when they find that there are no opportunities for them? I have heard youngsters in my country say time and again that democracy bestows all sorts of freedom, but that the greatest freedom it has bestowed is the freedom to starve.

That is the kind of thinking that is being expressed in my country today. I am telling you this, because the fantastic scientific achievements of the Russians coming one after the other, almost every day, and their vast economic achievement and expansion, are things in themselves that can have profound influence on the minds of such young people. Therefore, I am asking those of you who have the power and authority in your hands to put these facts to your financiers, your investors and your industrialists, and urge them to come to British Guiana and make some investments. The country has great investment possibilities, great potentialities. I guarantee that if they come they will get fair returns from their investments. We are prepared to give all the necessary tax concessions conducive to investment.

I think the time has come when financiers and industrialists within the Commonwealth should desist from investing capital outside the Commonwealth, because I believe that the resources and potentialities of the Commonwealth, if properly developed, could make the Commonwealth almost self-sufficient, if not entirely self-sufficient. I implore you to do this, Gentlemen, if you want this Commonwealth, of which we are all proud to be members, to survive and be strong. It must be remembered that a chain is as strong as its weakest link. It may be that some members of the Commonwealth are suffering from, or perhaps enjoying, the false notion or concept of racial superiority. As a result, they may feel that the low standard of living and bad conditions that obtain in most underdeveloped countries are good enough for us, since most of us are coloured. Well, if there are people who think in that way, I want to tell them that I am opposed to any such view. What I believe in implicitly is Jefferson's superb crystallization of the popular opinion that all men are created equal; that we are all endowed by the Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. If such a narrow and selfish outlook still exists among any of us today, I say that it is time that it was done away with, for to do so would be in the best interest of the Commonwealth.

All of us are loyal to the Crown, all of us believe in democratic parliamentary government, and we feel that opportunities—equal opportunities—must be created for all of us within the Commonwealth, regardless of race, colour or creed. If not, the Commonwealth may lose its meaning, cease to be an entity of respect, and fade. Please do not misinterpret what I have said, because whatever I say is said as a relative speaking to other relatives.

Let me, therefore, make one last appeal on behalf of my country, British Guiana. It is rich in potentialities. It has gold, diamonds, bauxite, tantalite, colombite, manganese and iron. Come to my country and sow some investments.

**Mr. Ashford S. Sinanan:** Mr. Chairman, I believe that we have had a most instructive and useful discussion. I believe that I represent the sincere point of view of every Delegate present when I say that we have found, in this discussion, sympathy and understanding, a readiness and a willingness to come to grips with the outstanding problems of the Commonwealth. It has taught us many lessons. We have learned a lot. I am tempted to say *mirabile dictu* we have even come to learn that South Africa can be misunderstood.



A number of impressions have been made upon me during this discussion, but the most important thought has been "How kind the fates have been to us that we, in such diversity, can achieve this unity and meet here as independent, free-thinking people, to express contrary points of view, disagreeing with each other in a most civilized and tolerant manner, and speaking freely, pointing unmistakably to the fact that the Queen is the fountain head of all our justice and all our freedom of expression". It is a great lesson for all of us. It is a tremendous example that we are to march side by side in the crusade of this era.

I would like to say something to one or two speakers who lamented the fact that the underdeveloped territories were asking for too much. Let us remember recent history, when the Mother Country itself was on the verge of starvation, if not actually starving. Sir, I am a great admirer of Sir Winston Churchill. I say that with the greatest deference to members of the Labour Party who are present. I do not share his political philosophy entirely, but I appreciate in a great measure the facility of language which he enjoys. He said in one of his many famous speeches:

Even if this island or a large part of it were subjugated and starving, then our Empire beyond the seas, armed and guarded by the strong Merchant Navy, will carry on the struggle, until, in God's good time, the new world, with all its power and with all its might, steps forth to the rescue and the liberation of the old.

That great statesman contemplated what was then the Empire feeding the mother country if ever Britain were starving. Therefore, we are not entirely out of place if in peacetime, when starvation assails us, we look for assistance, in return measure, from the Mother Country and some of the larger partners of the Commonwealth.

I do not wish to prolong this discussion any further, but I would like to express the hope that we could meet often. I would like to see frequent visits made, particularly in our part of the world, because, as you know, emerging countries are tempted at times to be carried away by an intense wave of nationalism. We feel that we would be assisted immeasurably if we were to receive visits by more experienced and seasoned Parliamentarians who would sit with us, who would discuss our problems and who would tender helpful advice.

This is the main purpose of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association—to foster goodwill and to bring home to us from time to time the necessity for keeping along the road of true democracy. I would like to say to this Conference again, with the greatest humility, let us not have our discussions and leave it there. Let us have some strong, powerful executive working throughout the years, with the combined assistance of the Chairman and the Vice-Chairman, to see whether all the suggestions could be correlated and implemented in fulfilment of the great purpose of this great family which is this Commonwealth of Nations.

*The Conference then adjourned.*



## TECHNICAL AND EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND CO-OPERATION WITHIN THE COMMONWEALTH

THE Fifth Session of the Conference began at 2 p.m. on 5th November, and the subject was "Technical and Educational Development and Co-operation within the Commonwealth". The opener was the Hon. Philip Skoglund, Minister of Education, New Zealand, and the Chairman of the Council presided.

**Hon. Philip O. S. Skoglund, M.P. (Minister of Education, New Zealand):** Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, the paper that I intend to present today was prepared before I left New Zealand, and it will necessarily contain a good deal of the argument that has already been put forward over the last three days. The subjects that have been selected are so interrelated that, in practically every speech, technical education has been mentioned. However, I think that New Zealand's point of view is slightly different from what has been put forward and I hope that what I have to say will prove interesting to the Conference.

One of the most striking developments in the postwar world has been the increase in the demand for technical education. All of us here will be conscious of the great efforts being made in our own countries to meet this demand, and will know—some of us only too well—that even in the most favoured and highly developed countries these efforts to keep abreast of the needs of the modern world for scientific and technical education are imposing an enormous strain. How much greater must be the strain, and how desperate the need, in those Commonwealth countries where, up till now, technical education has hardly begun.

These countries, many of them with as yet only the most meagre primary school systems, are faced with all the problems of building up systems of technical education that, in the highly developed countries, have grown up over centuries and have had their roots in long-established systems of universal schooling. For these countries, it is a question, not of trying to match the latest developments in technology or of joining in the race for the moon, but simply of the stark reality of hunger, sickness and poverty that they know can be fought back only by people trained in science and technology. For all of these countries, technical education must seem the key that could unlock the possibilities of strengthening and diversifying their economies, and so raising the standard of living of their peoples. These peoples cannot be asked to wait for the generations needed for the slow and orderly growth of a comprehensive education system.

Unless the peoples of underdeveloped countries can find profitable employment and increase their productivity, there will be little hope of sustained economic advance and the achievement of higher standards of living. In Europe, an economic revolution preceded a real political revolution, so, when the latter came, certain resources had been built up by economic change. In the Asian countries of the Commonwealth political changes came first, followed immediately by demands for social betterment which could not be easily fulfilled, because of economic backwardness and lack of resources. The pressure of rapidly growing populations consumed whatever increases were achieved in production, leaving little margin for saving or investment for further advance. The basic problem of all underdeveloped countries, whether within or outside the Commonwealth, thus became one of how to create the surpluses necessary for investment and greater production. Every such attempt meant a greater burden on the masses. Yet those very masses claimed relief from their existing burdens.

It is a curious paradox that what is seen as a saviour for the underdeveloped countries has too often, in the richer countries, been regarded as a menace rather than a blessing. We who have the good fortune to live in highly developed countries or in countries where the demands for scientific and technical education can clearly be met, if we apply ourselves to the problems, are all too conscious that some of this demand comes from the pressure to keep up in the race for more effective weapons for offence or defence. But I like to think that, in the long run, we will all be wise enough to see in science and technology the means by which men and women everywhere can have the chance to live as human beings should live, free from unnecessary fears and from the burden of senseless and deadening drudgery.



I often feel that we should, when thinking about this question, remind ourselves that, until the Industrial Revolution, the fastest speed at which man could travel across the earth was the speed of a galloping horse, and the greatest force that he could bring to bear was the force of a team of oxen or a gang of slaves. For most common people, the only force they had at their command was the force of their own muscles. Now, thanks to science and technology, the poorest of us in any one of the favoured countries can command, at the press of a switch, powers that no medieval tyrant had. All of this we owe to science and technology, and the technical education on which they are based. But, in some parts of our Commonwealth, men and women are still living lives that have been lightened hardly at all by the discoveries we now take for granted.

All of this, it seems to me, imposes on the Commonwealth as a whole an obligation—an obligation to share our large and varied resources in technical education in order to ensure that the less fortunate members of this great family are not left to drag through the slow and painful process of development that has been the history of the highly developed countries. We have all had experience in technical assistance schemes such as the Colombo Plan that have shown us that one country can learn from the experiences of another—that skills and techniques developed in one environment can be adapted to the needs of another. We know, too, that this transference of skills is never an easy process, but is a process that must go on and must be greatly increased in the years immediately ahead.

A constructive effort to share the educational resources of the Commonwealth to even greater advantage has been set in motion by the recommendations of the Commonwealth Education Conference which met in Oxford from 15th to 28th July of this year. The Conference arose out of the Montreal Conference of Commonwealth Finance Ministers last year, and it was the first of its kind ever to be held. The target of 1,000 scholarships and fellowships set at last year's Montreal Conference has been achieved and may soon be exceeded. In addition to the 500 scholarships which the United Kingdom had stated it was prepared to support and the 250 by Canada, Australia and India have promised 100 each, Pakistan thirty, New Zealand twenty-five, Malaya twelve, Ghana, Rhodesia and Nyasaland ten each, Ceylon six, and East Africa four. Other contributions may be announced later. The twenty-five awards which New Zealand is prepared to offer are intended for postgraduate and undergraduate study in agriculture, mining, science, engineering and metallurgy and other branches of engineering, physical sciences and education, including teacher training.

The concept that the Commonwealth scheme should be limited to academic training was considered by New Zealand to be undesirably restrictive. The New Zealand Delegation to the Educational Conference found that there was considerable support for its proposal that the Conference adopt a broadly based scheme for the reciprocal sharing within the Commonwealth of skills and experience of all types. This kind of scheme would help overcome a greater range of technical and administrative deficiencies, particularly among the underdeveloped countries, than would a simple expansion of existing opportunities for higher academic study. The adoption of this broader approach by the Conference enables New Zealand to offer, in addition to the twenty-five academic awards, useful training opportunities in such fields as trade-training instruction—for which we have developed special facilities—and public administration, particularly “on the job” training in Government departments. It also can foster the exchange between Commonwealth countries of senior public servants at professional and administrative levels, teachers, education administrators, and university staff.

Emphasis on the reciprocal features of the scheme helps to ensure that it is not regarded by the underdeveloped Commonwealth countries as a form of technical assistance being given by some of the advanced Western or European countries to certain technically backward Asian or African countries. At present some countries have more to give and less to take than others, while others may be in the opposite position. Almost every country has, however, something of value to give in one direction or another. For instance, certain countries can give good opportunities for



useful research work in the social or scientific fields and wider opportunities for scholars under special cultural, sociological or geophysical circumstances.

For the first time the needs and resources of the Commonwealth in the technical education field have become known and the magnitude of the shortage of teachers has been thrown into sharp relief. All the Commonwealth Governments will co-operate immediately to help the less developed among them to meet this shortage of teachers in schools of every type and description. They will be helped by: (a) offering teacher training places for advanced or supplementary courses, staff for teacher training and facilities for teacher training staff to visit training institutions in the more advanced Commonwealth countries; (b) encouraging teachers to accept appointments overseas for a period of years by assisting them financially to do so and by safeguarding their interests whilst away, so as to give them security on their return home; (c) offering more places for the training of scientists and engineers and other technically qualified people in existing institutions for which groups of smaller Commonwealth countries may wish to pool their resources.

The mere fact that for the first time in its history the whole Commonwealth came together to discuss educational problems was in itself, I think, a striking recognition that education can be one of the strongest continuing bonds of Commonwealth, and that these bonds can be further strengthened if we all accept the goal of helping our newest members of the family to achieve something a little nearer to the standards of education so long enjoyed in the older Commonwealth countries. It is my hope, therefore, that the recommendations of this Conference that urge a much more active and widespread sharing of skills among Commonwealth countries will be taken up with enthusiasm by all of us. I certainly intend that New Zealand should play a full part in all the proposals made for the offering of scholarships and training awards, for the training of teachers, and, above all, in the many suggestions made to help the educationally underdeveloped Commonwealth countries to develop their systems of technical education.

May I, Sir, in order to give concreteness to what I have just been saying, cite one or two instances of the kinds of need for technical training that exist within the Commonwealth to show that the countries concerned cannot meet them without assistance from outside. Let us consider, for example, those many countries within the Commonwealth that must, if they are to raise living standards, develop industries that call for skills and techniques that they do not at present have, or have in sufficient volume. To the extent that some of these countries are industrialized at all, they are at present rooted in traditional skills that owe nothing to modern science and technology. Their tradesmen—many of them extraordinarily skilful in their crafts—are men who have had little or no formal education and certainly none of the science and mathematics that lie behind most modern training for trades. These men would have great difficulty in adapting themselves to the new conditions imposed by an industrialized society, and although the younger ones might be retrained, many of the men could not be expected to change their ways. That, however, is only part of the problem that faces a country with a changing economy. Not only must new kinds of tradesmen be trained, but also trade teachers who in turn will produce more tradesmen; if the task of converting old-style to new-style tradesmen is difficult, that of converting them to trade teachers is very nearly insuperable. Yet, in these countries the young people who have had a good general education with some science and mathematics have rarely had any experience of doing things with their hands, and, indeed, their education has often tended to build up in them a resistance to the acquiring of practical skills. Even if the ingrained prejudice can be overcome, there remains the difficulty of training educated youths as tradesmen before they can be trained as teachers of tradesmen.

The task is made no easier by the fact that wage and salary scales are usually such as to offer men with the highest trade qualifications less money than persons with even the humbler forms of academic certificate. So in a country of this kind there is this sharp dilemma for those responsible for the policies that will lead to the adaptation of industries to modern conditions; for their tradesmen of the future they can choose either the traditional craftsman with no general education or the



generally educated person with no industrial experience at all. It is a problem no country can be expected to solve without help from outside. This is the kind of situation in which assistance from another Commonwealth country can be of crucial importance in the training of people to teach trade skills under modern conditions.

Another way in which one Commonwealth country can assist another lies in providing opportunities for industrial experience, to which I referred a moment ago. Although some of the smaller countries may be able to provide suitable experience from their own resources, most of them cannot, and these countries should be able to look for help to the larger and more industrialized countries. In the past, our thoughts have naturally turned to the United Kingdom for facilities of this kind, but it is too much to expect the United Kingdom to bear all this growing burden alone. It was stated at the Commonwealth Education Conference that the authorities in Britain are having great difficulty in arranging adequate industrial experience for all the trainees from the Commonwealth who are asking for it, and that they would welcome some help in this most important task. It may be, too, that some of us whose industrial systems are simpler and younger than that of the United Kingdom have a special contribution to make to the industrial training of men and women from Commonwealth countries which are at the beginning of their industrial development. This seems to me one obvious way in which the Commonwealth as a whole can not only help its economically poorer members but can at the same time forge new links of Commonwealth.

We must remember, too, the especially difficult predicament of some of the newly independent Commonwealth countries. In the past they have had available to them the excellent educational advisory services provided by the Colonial Office. In the very act of becoming independent, however, they sever themselves from this source of advice and assistance, and it is most appropriate that the Commonwealth as a whole step into the breach and make available, on the most generous terms, its knowledge and experience to make good this loss.

One could go on almost endlessly citing the ways in which, if the Commonwealth is to live up to its name, it must assume this kind of joint responsibility for the development and well-being of all its members. The pattern should include provision for the training, not only of tradesmen, but of technicians and technologists. The importance of a balanced labour force cannot be overestimated and any training or assistance programme that does not recognize this balance is not likely to be very successful. In the early stages of industrial development, technicians and technologists may be borrowed, but that can be regarded only as a short-term way of meeting the needs—as met they must be if a programme is not to fail for lack of technical direction when external help has been withdrawn. Of course, there will always be countries that do not possess the resources to train their own technologists, but here once more is a case in which one Commonwealth country can help another. Again, the tradition has been to look to the United Kingdom, but now other countries must also be considered as sources of aid. Not only have they acquired the status to justify the role of technical tutor, but their own experiences are nearer in time and in stage of development to those of the countries they may be asked to help and that could be a significant factor in determining the value of the help they can give.

These are just some of the reasons why the New Zealand Government warmly supported the notion of a Commonwealth Conference on education. The Government feels that, if the Commonwealth is to be more than just a name, there must be acceptance by each member of the joint responsibility for helping the others. That help will not all flow in one direction. The economically underdeveloped countries have their contribution to make, too. I am one of those who believe that every country in the Commonwealth has an important contribution to make to the common weal, whether it be in industrial skills and processes, in music, art and dance, or in philosophy and the deeper understanding of the purpose of life.

I should not like the emphasis that I have given to technical education in this address to be misunderstood. Technologists and technicians will be of immense importance in the Commonwealth and in the world of the future, but they will not be the whole of that world. There will be an ever-increasing need for men of wisdom



and of balance to help to run that world, and wisdom and balanced judgment do not come just from science and technology alone, but from the quiet contemplation of the nature of man and of his achievements in every field of human endeavour. Vastly important though it is, technology is not enough; it is a means, not an end. The end, in the words of the report of the Oxford Conference, is no less than

. . . the good life—material and spiritual—and the happiness of the six hundred and sixty million individuals who are the citizens of the Commonwealth.

**Mr. Albert Roberts, M.P. (*United Kingdom*):** Mr. Chairman, and friends, this is a very important subject that we are discussing this afternoon. As the previous speaker has said, it is bound up with the economic development of certain parts of the Commonwealth. A well-known Englishman has said that words are like leaves—where they most abound, the fruits of wisdom are rarely found. We shall hear many words this afternoon concerning education and what can be done in various parts of the Commonwealth. But what I would really like to see is the following-up of suggestions and some of our members of the Commonwealth putting forward concrete plans as to what they really want, so that we, of the United Kingdom, can really understand what their problems are.

As far as education in our country is concerned, there is a quest for knowledge. We realize that, if we are to keep in the vanguard of progress, we have to go on learning and seeking knowledge. In our country we have a demand for better facilities, more teachers, more training colleges and more opportunities for our children so that we can really keep abreast of the times. At the same time, we realize what is needed in all parts of the Commonwealth. Some of the relevant figures have been given by the previous speaker. It is not always a question of sending students to the United Kingdom, Australia, Canada or America. I really believe that one good thing would be to send our teachers and experts into the backward areas. I am supporting what was said by my colleague about the experts. We do not always educate a man so that he can earn more money. We like to educate the man so that he can be a better man. I know that there are many experts in parts of the Commonwealth who have obtained their education and knowledge in the developed nations and who have gone back and imposed on illiterate people their own political ideologies. I believe that first things should come first.

For instance, family hygiene is a very important thing. Culture and moral behaviour are important. If you start at the bottom and inculcate into people decent standards of knowledge, those people will seek the right kind of knowledge, which will benefit industry and society in their part of the world. A very important thing, too, is the dissemination of knowledge. Are we, in spite of the fact that millions of pounds are being spent, disseminating knowledge in the best interests of the people? I wonder! That is what we want to know here this afternoon: Is knowledge being disseminated?

I have been in many parts of the world. I have been in India and seen some of the appalling poverty. I often wonder where we can start to give a real standard of education to these people. I hope that this afternoon some really substantial suggestions that we can examine will be made to us.

Another aspect of education is the question of approach and application. If we can make the right approach and give the right application we shall achieve more. During debates on other subjects many references have been made to Australia. I should like to point out that Australia and New Zealand were pioneered by men and women some of whom could neither read nor write. Their children were born without medical attention. It speaks volumes for these two countries that they have reached a very high level of civilization after starting from the very bottom. I direct my words to certain parts of the Commonwealth, but not with any feeling of disrespect. I want to find from exactly where we can start. If this achievement has been made in Australia and New Zealand, surely it is not beyond the wit of man to find some method of successful application in other parts of the Commonwealth.

These matters are very important indeed. I happen to be a member of Her Majesty's Opposition in the United Kingdom Parliament. But everyone in that



Parliament, irrespective of political affiliations, will strain himself to the utmost to give every aid possible to the underdeveloped parts of the Commonwealth. I do not need to give the figures to show what we are doing at present under the Colombo Plan and in the contributions of our industry. The Federation of British Industries is providing as many as seventy scholarships a year. We contribute a vast amount of money under the Colombo Plan. We accept students, not only from the backward nations, but also from Canada and Australia. We are prepared to continue along these lines as long as it will help civilization and promote understanding.

I want to make another point concerning nuclear energy. I say, with no measure of conceit, that I really believe that the United Kingdom is the leader in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. We want people to come from backward nations to obtain the know-how on this subject. I do not know whether or not Delegates are aware that very recently Her Majesty's Speech foreshadowed the introduction of a Commonwealth Education Bill to provide an additional 500 scholarships to be spread over the Commonwealth and 500 to be shared between Canada, Australia, and India, to cost from £7 to £9 million over a period of five years. I give the assurance that the three political parties in the House of Commons will support any measure that will provide opportunities to people within the Commonwealth. Already we are bearing a very heavy burden, but in spite of that we are introducing a new measure to give further opportunities. What more can we do?

My own constituents are asking me for opportunities for their own children. They realize that this era is an era of science and automation. But, although we are extending to our own people every opportunity for advanced education, we are not forgetting those people who need opportunities in the darkest parts of the Commonwealth. It was reported in a newspaper this morning that an Australian Member now in Malaya had said that Australia was prepared to accept more students from Asia. That is a wonderful gesture. The people of the underdeveloped parts of the Commonwealth who seek financial help should tell us how it is to be applied. We are ready to help as much as we possibly can.

As many speakers have said during the last few days, fundamentally there is no difference between us. We are all after the same thing. We must consider the manner of approach. Mr. Constantine told us of his visit to Perth, where the Rotary Club has decided to provide one scholarship annually. That was a very fine gesture which I hope can be emulated throughout Australia, but it is, of course, only a drop in the ocean. This is a gigantic problem. How on earth can any nation live comfortably and sleep soundly, knowing that there are millions of people living almost below the line of subsistence?

**Senator the Hon. Donald Smith (Canada):** Mr. Chairman, I think it is generally understood that the development of education and technical skills is one of the major requirements of any programme that has as its goal the achievement by free nations of a momentum of economic progress that will make it possible for them to go forward in self-reliant growth, in peace and in freedom.

Many underdeveloped countries have been described as being rich in the dignity of peasants tilling the soil, and in the wisdom of teachers and scholars. They also possess incalculable capital in the form of the traditions of civilizations that are older than history itself and have produced treasures of art and learning. When the peoples of such countries have been provided with the opportunity to achieve a momentum of economic progress, they will truly be the richest in the world. Technical and educational development must be the prerequisite of such richness through economic progress. It is in this field that the newer countries of the Commonwealth can co-operate and help to clear the paths to progress.

Steps along the educational road to progress were taken long ago in the underdeveloped countries of the Commonwealth. Perhaps the early ones were associated with the work of missions and churches. This reminds me of the fact that one of our Delegates who has made a great impression on us on both occasions on which we have heard him speak—I refer to Mr. Sinanan—told me that he received his early



education and training in the art of oratory, which he practises so well, from a Canadian missionary with the good Nova Scotian name of Macdonald. I have also found that Mr. Babiiha, the Delegate from Uganda, who has spoken to us on several occasions in his excellent manner, had his early training outside tribal life from French-Canadian priests, who, he says, have made a tremendous contribution and are making an even greater contribution as the years go by. In more recent years, with the operation of various United Nations organizations and of the Colombo Plan, in which Commonwealth countries have been joined by the United States of America, great progress is being made.

Canada's contribution to the people of other lands in the field of education has, we believe, been rather important. Since 1950, for example, a total of 2,000 students have been trained in Canada through the Technical Co-operation Service alone, approximately half of this number coming from Commonwealth countries. Canadian universities and colleges, as would be expected, are educating large numbers of students from far-away lands to such an extent that Canadian campuses have taken on an international complexion. About 6,000 students from abroad enrolled in Canadian universities in 1957-58, and of these 2,100 were from Commonwealth countries. In accordance with proposals which were recently adopted, and which were mentioned by our colleague Mr. Roberts, many additional students from Commonwealth countries will be studying at Canadian universities each year under the Commonwealth Scholarship Scheme. Out of the total of 900 scholarships, Canada has undertaken to provide 250. But we regard this number as just a good beginning.

In common with all countries, Canada faces tremendous problems associated with the desire and the need to provide advanced education and training to a rapidly increasing population. There are physical as well as financial problems associated with requirements of staff, buildings and modern educational facilities. From the actual experience of the past five years, during which the number of students in Canada increased by 40 per cent., it is now clear that the 100 or so Canadian universities and colleges can expect that a doubled enrolment will soon be crowding the lecture halls and the laboratories. As would be expected in these circumstances, on almost every campus lecturing professors have been competing with the intermittent but insistent sounds of construction. Old buildings are acquiring new wings and new buildings are rising beside them.

In a rapidly growing Canadian economy, one of the greatest challenges to be met is our need for technical education. Canada's economic prospects are inseparably linked with its industrial development, and this development will be seriously impaired unless the number of Canadians in training as technicians is rapidly increased. Indeed, Canada's rather important aircraft industry could not have been developed without the thousands of superbly trained technicians who migrated to Canada from the United Kingdom. During the postwar years much has been spoken and written in Canada, as well as in other nations with rapidly expanding economies, about the shortage of engineers. It is now becoming evident that this numerical shortage could be appreciably reduced if it were possible to assign to well-trained technicians the semi-professional and routine jobs presently undertaken by engineers. However, a sufficient stock of such semi-professional personnel is simply not being made available. In fact, in Canada at the present time there are but two technical institutes organized, staffed and equipped to produce this trained personnel of engineering aides or engineering associates.

Before outlining further some of Canada's educational problems, it will be useful to point out that, under our constitution, education at all its levels is the responsibility of the ten Provincial, or State, Governments, a jurisdiction which is retained by them with great zeal. Those of you who come from countries with national jurisdiction in such fields can appreciate that the Canadian system of multiplicity does create problems. Canada's capacity to assist others in the Commonwealth community, and elsewhere in the world, will in large measure depend on her success in dealing with her own problems concerning education in order that from an expanding domestic economy will flow the necessary material and human resources. The Canadian



Delegation will, therefore, be extremely interested to learn what other Commonwealth countries are doing in the field of technical education.

As has been stated by a former Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Hon. Lester B. Pearson, "the people of Canada, despite their own problems associated with economic development and defence, however great and challenging these present-day problems may be, are not too preoccupied to give aid and thought to others who are struggling against much greater odds in their search for a more satisfying and richer life". Sir, in the field of technical education, these odds must appear great indeed. Canadian children, even when learning to walk, stumble over household mechanical equipment and are brought up in an environment of motor vehicles and machines of all kinds. We know that many of the children of other countries, on the other hand, have no such background. Instead of easily learning to control mobile equipment, sitting behind a steering wheel and stepping on an accelerator, many children in the world simply learn how to twist the tail of a bullock to make him go faster. As a consequence, when we introduce even simple means of agricultural mechanization, we do so on ground relatively barren as far as technical knowledge is concerned.

It may be that the remarks I intend to make now would be more suitable for a meeting of the United Nations or one of its subsidiary organizations, or of the Colombo Plan, but I believe that there is a place for them here as well. However quickly some of the peoples of underdeveloped regions may be able to acquire new skills, it is my impression that in the past serious mistakes have been made in attempting to accomplish the transition from primitive methods to those using modern mechanical equipment with altogether too much haste. I have been informed by one Canadian who served the Ministry of another country—and I might say it was not a Commonwealth country—in the capacity of an adviser a few years ago, that he had seen a classic example of this. He told me that he had observed a modern combine harvester standing idle in a grain field while the farmers and their families laboriously cut the grain with sickles and loaded it into the combine with animal-drawn carts—all because those farmers had not reached the stage where they either understood the full purpose of the machine or had not been trained to use it and keep it in repair. It should be realized that the stage of combines should come only after adequate training and instruction, and above all following the transition from sickle to scythe.

It is expected that Canada, along with other nations of the Commonwealth, will in due season be in a position to prepare for service abroad an increasing number of technical experts and teachers. These experts and teachers must be of the highest calibre in every way. But mere professional or scientific competence will not suffice; to this must be added the most necessary qualities of sympathy, tact, understanding and knowledge to deal effectively with peoples of widely diversified cultures, customs and languages.

My own country and others should see to it that there is established in its capital city a central briefing agency where all personnel chosen for service abroad would be required to take an intensive course of instruction in the history, customs and cultures of the land in which they will serve. It may be feasible, as well, for them to acquire some knowledge of the language, however difficult that may appear to be. It is my belief that experts and teachers from abroad are necessary. But, though they are offered in great numbers and of high quality, they can supply only the hem of the fabric of education. Self-help is the indispensable and can only be possible with the development of educational and technical training centres within the underdeveloped area itself. This development, in any circumstances, is going to appear slow to the leaders of the nations concerned, because the early stages must of necessity be slow. It must be realized that the sure way to make progress is to put first things first—not the more dramatic way of starting at the top of the educational pyramid. For example, the training of engineers in the educational development programme can only be usefully undertaken after facilities have been established for the training of technicians. But foremost is the need for the training of skilled tradesmen.

For the educational and technical development programme, it would appear to me to be necessary for some agency or organization to make provision for the supply



of textbooks in native languages. I am informed that in technical and vocational education it will be found necessary to coin new native words and terms. For example, I do not know how such a word as "carburettor" could be translated; the English word may have to be adopted. But the point is that, if the translation of such a word to another language is going to be made, it should be adopted from a standard translation and be included in acceptable textbooks in the language of the country concerned.

It is well known, Sir, that Canada has played, and is now playing, a role in world affairs, the extent and importance of which has been referred to in this Conference on several occasions, so that I need not dwell upon it. But this role continues to be played with the growing understanding and approval of the Canadian peoples. I should like to illustrate this and bring my remarks to a close by quoting the final words of a geography textbook which is used in the high schools of my own Province of Nova Scotia. This is the passage:

You must do everything possible to understand and sympathize with the hopes, fears and needs of people everywhere. By such means the co-operation that has proved so successful within the Commonwealth family may in time spread to include all the nations of the world. This is the only path to world brotherhood and the only sure road to peace.

Mr. Chairman, this is what we are teaching our Canadian youth.

**Mr. H. G. Pearce, M.P. (Deputy Government Whip, Australian Commonwealth):** Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates, in the postwar world one of the greatest demands made upon Governments has been the demand for education. One of the great thirsts that we have discovered amongst people is the thirst for learning. There is a great desire amongst the people to see that their children are well educated. We in Australia have received, in the postwar years, great benefits as a result of the educational facilities that have been made available to our people. In the northern part of Australia we are going through an agricultural revolution, because our scientists have been able to do research work into our grasses, our pastures and other matters having to do with agricultural pursuits. They have been able to achieve greater yields, a greater response from the soil and a greater return to those who work the soil. In our industrial establishments and our technical laboratories we have seen the advantage of the education that has been made available to our young people. As those young people have gone out and put into practice what they have learned, so this country has reaped the benefits.

Similar trends have been observed in all the nations of the world. As the benefits of education are made available to boys and girls, so the standard of living is lifted. Because the right to education does not belong to one nation, it is essential, I believe, for the Members of Parliament here to consider how best we may co-operate in the field of education, so that those people whom we are responsible for governing may have the benefits of a greater understanding of the good things of this world. That is why Australia welcomes this Commonwealth Conference on the subject of education. That is why Australia has pledged itself to play its full part in the development of the Oxford Plan. We shall, as quickly as possible, and probably before the end of this year, make announcements regarding the awards that Australia will grant, along the lines of the Plan laid down in Oxford. Before 1960 is very far under way we will make available to the people the fullest possible use of these awards and fellowships.

I think it should be understood that in the federal system in Australia the Commonwealth Government does not control education. This is a matter that lies within the province of each State. Each of the States has its own curriculum and methods of training. The Commonwealth Government, however, does have an interest in the universities of Australia, and in the Commonwealth Office of Education we will have a co-ordinating body to co-operate with the other nations in implementing the Oxford Plan.

We hope that we will be able to give fifty awards each year, which will mean that there will be 100 awards current at any particular time. There will be postgraduate awards for recent graduates, and undergraduate awards to meet certain specific



needs—and there are specific needs to be met. There will be mature awards for educationists and professional people and administrators, and then there will be visiting scholarships. But we are most interested in the scale on which we can do this. We are interested in educational co-operation because we feel that the great need is for more teachers of teachers, and we would like to give the help necessary to provide more and more teachers, so that through the provision of educational facilities in this nation we can provide teachers not only for our own country but also for other countries in need of them. Already in our universities in Australia we have something like 5,000 Asian students. It is our great wish and hope, and our prayer, that, as they return to their own countries, they will take back with them the education and information that they have received, and that they will go forward as leaders in their communities and build up the living standards of their people. In this way we can become a happier Commonwealth of Nations.

We pledge ourselves as Australians not to conceal the things we know, not to keep to ourselves the knowledge that we have acquired, not to be selfish or mean, but to give to the world the benefits of the discoveries we have made. The Commonwealth of Nations may be assured that, as we have demonstrated through the Colombo Plan, and as we have shown in our own land, we recognize the right of all people to the benefits of education. Australia will play its full part in seeing that all people receive those benefits.

**Dr. Louis S. Steenkamp, M.P. (*Union of South Africa*):** Mr. Chairman, it is my intention to limit my remarks this afternoon to the scientific aspects of this matter. It was after the Second World War that South Africa and other nations began to realize the necessity for closer technical and educational collaboration. International and inter-Commonwealth commissions were brought into being to inquire into and report upon the best and most adequate means and measures of combating certain common problems, especially in the scientific and educational fields. Today we all have come to realize the importance of co-operation in matters affecting, for instance, health, nutrition, transport, agriculture and technical research, in which only joint action and mutual appreciation of our problems can lead to success or have beneficial results for our homelands and our people.

As South Africa is so deeply concerned with the Commonwealth, and especially with Africa, we followed very closely and took the keenest interest in the meetings and discussions between African countries during the years 1946 and 1947, on matters such as nutrition, labour problems, the tsetse fly, soil conservation, diseases and their treatment, agricultural problems, education, mining, etc. Initially, however, the Union of South Africa was not consulted nor invited to attend these discussions. But, after strong representations, especially to the United Kingdom, South Africa, too, was invited to send technical and educational experts and scientists to those deliberations. Since then South Africa has collaborated and is collaborating in Africa not only with the Commonwealth countries such as the United Kingdom, Ghana, Rhodesia and others, but also with certain European countries in the Committee for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara, the Scientific Council for Africa, the Inter-African Bureau for Soil and Rural Economy, the Inter-African Bureau for Epizootic Diseases, the Permanent Inter-African Bureau for the Tsetse, the Organization for European Economic Co-operation, the Inter-African Labour Institute, and other bodies, and contributes large sums of money and personnel for their administration.

We, in South Africa, will welcome even keener and closer co-operation between us and Commonwealth countries in scientific and technological research, also in the civil field wherever this is appropriate, and we sincerely hope that the leader of the Commonwealth countries—I refer to the United Kingdom—will take the initiative.

The Commonwealth Scientific Committee, which negotiated the setting up of the British Commonwealth Scientific Offices in the United Kingdom and the United States, was initiated in London in 1946. The heads of each scientific organization in Commonwealth countries constitute a standing committee on the Commonwealth Scientific Committee, and in the case of South Africa he is the President of the South



African Council for Scientific and Industrial Research. This standing committee meets occasionally and establishes the policy of co-operation and co-ordination in science within the Commonwealth.

The Commonwealth Scientific Officers in London are grouped together in Africa House, Kingsway, and consist of the scientific liaison officers from Australia, Canada, New Zealand, India, Pakistan, the United Kingdom and South Africa. These liaison officers are recruited from the various Commonwealth countries from scientific organizations which they represent. As you know, plans are under way for the admission of Ghana and Malaya to the B.C.S.O. In addition to the above there is in London a Commonwealth geological liaison officer who works within the framework of B.C.S.O. This liaison officer is recruited from within the Commonwealth and his function is to co-ordinate and report on certain aspects of geology within the Commonwealth.

The South African scientific liaison officer in London is also scientific adviser to the High Commissioner in the United Kingdom, and involves himself with the scientific work of France, Portugal, Spain and Scandinavia in addition to the United Kingdom. The scientific liaison officer in Washington is scientific attaché also to the South African Embassy in the United States and to the South African High Commissioner in Canada. His interests extend throughout the American continent.

The scientific liaison officer in London is the one which is most concerned with Commonwealth scientific co-operation. Projects with which it particularly concerns itself include the working committee of the Commonwealth Advisory Aeronautical Research Committee, the Commonwealth Advisory Committee on Defence Science, and also the Commonwealth Fuel Research Committee.

The main functions carried on by our scientific missions fall into the following categories: 1. advice to the Ambassador or High Commissioner and staff, particularly on the commercial, military and political implications of new developments in science and technology; 2. reviewing or surveying new trends in science and technology; 3. obtaining information in response to specific requests; 4. facilitating direct contacts between specialists in the home country and those working in the same fields in the "host" country; and 5. certain direct services.

Now I should like to give a few examples of our co-operation in the scientific and technical fields. The first is in geological research. Africa South of the Sahara is considered as a geological unit and we, in South Africa, could always be of service to our neighbours, especially with reference to our geological investigations in the Union and in South West Africa. Hitherto we have, unfortunately, not had an opportunity to extend our geological research into other areas. We, however, realize the necessity of regional investigations of African geological problems and have already, as early as 1949, suggested a regional geological bureau or liaison office for the collection and dissemination of data, supplied by our friends in Africa, and the planning of joint programmes after approval by the contributing States.

Thus, too, South Africa, could be of great service to our sister States, especially in Africa, in relation to the basic problems of geophysics. In this field we have done wide research, especially under the guidance of the Telecommunication Research Laboratories of our C.S.I.R., and the Bernard Price Institute of Geophysical Research of the University of the Witwatersrand. In this field it is suggested that workers in Africa could be in closer contact with us in South Africa, as well as with each other.

There is already a large measure of co-operation concerned with meteorological research in Africa, but may we suggest an even keener appreciation of our mutual dependence upon each other and the necessity for an even closer co-operative effort on the part of the different African States, as well as an exchange of weather experts and research workers between the different weather stations on the African continent.

Now I turn to water and soil conservation. Water is a serious problem in Africa and, as I have found out, also in Australia. We have given, and are giving, serious attention to the location and the conservation of water. We realize only too well that water scarcity is also a serious problem in many other parts of Africa. South Africa



has not only very comprehensive and adequate legislation dealing with water conservation, but its two State organizations, namely, the Geological Survey Division and the Department of Mines, and the boring branch of the Irrigation Department have, over a long period of research, done a lot in finding usable supplies of underground water. We feel, however, that even more fundamental research is required, as well as closer collaboration and a more frequent exchange of information between us and the other African territories, and with other members of the Commonwealth.

Closely coupled with water and water conservation is, of course, soil and soil conservation. Here, too, Mr. Chairman, South Africa has adequate legislative control. As population growth will intensify pressure on the land, very special care will have to be given to this problem of soil conservation in order to preserve our land and in order to hold large desert areas in check; otherwise ideals of our own advancement, or of African advancement, could not possibly be realized.

In South Africa we have various government and university workers interested in our soil and in our water problems. Generally speaking, I think I can claim that our facilities for research in these fields are considerably more advanced than elsewhere in Africa. Here, too, our experience and knowledge are at your disposal, Sir.

There is, furthermore, much need for closer co-operation, if I may suggest it, in other fields, such as in plant physiology and plant biochemistry; the importance of vegetable oils and proteins in the nutrition of human beings; sub-tropical and tropical foods; locust research and control, especially in Africa; agriculture in semi-arid areas; plant diseases; the treatment and disposal of industrial effluents in relation to water supply; the conservation and control of wild life; diseases of stock caused by viruses; human diseases, especially polio and cancer; the measurement of intelligence and attitudes of our African people; research in connexion with gold, coal, diamonds and other minerals in South Africa, in Africa and in the Commonwealth, especially in regard to shaft-sinking, in which we have acquired a very high degree of skill, as you know. They are even asking our engineers to go to Great Britain to advise them.

It is our sincere desire to be of service and to share our knowledge and experience with African States and with other members of the Commonwealth. We are sorry that our contribution cannot be more substantial—our available resources, both human and financial, are limited, as I indicated this morning. But we trust that our sincere efforts to contribute to the technical and scientific advancement of Africa and the Commonwealth will be accepted in the same spirit in which they are so gladly given. Your contribution to our technical and scientific knowledge and advancement is highly appreciated. May we furthermore express the hope that even greater and more tangible co-operation in the immediate future will be possible because, with you, we realize that closer co-operation will lead to a keener and a deeper understanding of our problems, as well as to the destruction of Communist ideologies amongst the underdeveloped areas and people under our guardianship.

**Dr. G. S. Melkote, M.P. (India):** Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates, it is my privilege to thank our hosts, the Australian people and the Australian Government. During the period from 1952 to 1957 I happened to be a Finance Minister for a couple of years in the State of Hyderabad, and I dealt with labour problems as Minister for Labour and Public Works for the next three years, during which period the Australian Government extended to us substantial help in constructing one of the biggest dams in India, a project which today irrigates something like 2 million acres. The people of India are very grateful for that help, and I felt that I should personally convey our gratitude to the Australian people, since I was the recipient of the help and goodwill that they extended to my country.

My Government have established an Institute of Medical Science on which it plans to spend about £12 million sterling, and on which it has already spent about £5 million for the construction of a first-rate institution for the training of teachers and students in medical subjects. I happen to be a member of that body. The New Zealand Government contributed about £1 million for the above institution, which has already been substantially utilized for the construction of these buildings. Several



of our students from my State have gone to Britain, Canada and other places and have come back, after receiving training, and are now winning laurels by their work. They have been performing yeoman service for their country. To those people and to the countries who have contributed under the Colombo Plan with a view to lifting the standards of living in my country, I convey our heartfelt thanks.

During my Australian trip I have had the privilege to come into contact and to speak with medical men, and also a few educationists and engineers. I now feel that I know some of the men and women behind Australian progress. Australia has an economy that has been developed, and to compare it with any other economy would not be quite right. I only say that it is in no way inferior to the economy of other developed countries of the world. Whilst it is so, if Australians feel that this should create an impression in the minds of backward countries with regard to the development it has made, and desire that we should similarly copy it, I can only say, "Thank you very much. You have done very well indeed, but copying will not help us in India". This is a problem which developed countries would find it difficult to understand. I will explain this later. In the case of a father and son, so long as the father is wealthy, the son always expects something from him. That has been the position of Britain. Since the beginning of this Conference we have been hearing that more and more help must be forthcoming from Britain and other developed countries. But some of us are grown up. Some of us understand the situation. We study our own problems and try to stand on our own legs, because it is only in that way that we can contribute substantially to the progress of the Commonwealth. You should not depend on only one country for help. Every country must be self-sufficient.

Therefore, whilst I should like to place before you my ideas as to how this could be brought about, let me at the outset tell you what we in our own country have done. A population of 400 million people is a problem in itself. Education is a most important subject for us to think about, and if education is denied in modern times, with the cultural background that we have and with people who understand and are intelligent, which way do we go? Backward? Then again we have as neighbours China and Russia. If you have poverty and lack of opportunity you have one aspect of the problem; you have another aspect of the problem if you have educated unemployed who understand things and who would like to upset the Government itself. No education is bad, but education without employment is worse still. This is a problem that must be understood if one is to appreciate Indian conditions.

We in India have been trying to educate our people, but the Government has felt that the filling of stomachs was the primary objective. An empty stomach is a danger. Therefore, whilst the Government considers that primary education is important, as is all education, the social aspects of improving education and public health will have to be tackled with the co-operation of the people themselves. The Government is doing its very best, but it has to find more money for irrigation facilities, the development of electricity and industry, than for education. In spite of that, may I say that in 1947, when the British left, we had about seventeen universities in the country. Today we have forty-two universities. In 1947 only 4 per cent. of women were educated. Today the figure is 18 per cent. Among boys, 18 per cent. were educated in 1957, but today 42 per cent. are educated. We have attained that improvement, although we have not yet done our very best. Everyone, especially in the rural sector, wants to be educated. Therefore, he comes forward voluntarily and contributes a certain amount of money. No college, whether medical or engineering, can begin to operate unless the people come forward and contribute substantially to it—about 25 per cent. of the total expenditure. It is in this starting of higher technological colleges that we need more aid.

That is one way of raising money, but we need more so that we can go ahead and become self-sufficient, so that we can be proud and be able to say "We have done our very best. And yet this is our condition. Would you sympathize with us and could you help us? If you would like to do so, we would appreciate that gesture, but then that is good. We are not going to beg of you even if you would not". Education is progressing steadily forward, but people are anxious to catch up rapidly. Industrialization is a very big factor, and technical knowledge—know-how—is greatly



needed to employ the surplus educated unemployed from the rural sector. It is very necessary to have experts coming and going.

We are fortunate that we have had the benefit of the Colombo Plan, aid from the British through the Nuffield Scheme, the help of the British Education Conference and the Rhodes Scholarship Scheme. These things have helped us to send our students to England and elsewhere for higher education. They are coming back to our country and giving a very good account of themselves in helping to develop India.

As I have already said, self-help is necessary. Therefore, before we went to anyone else seeking help, we imposed innumerable taxes on the people—income tax, supertax, wealth tax, expenditure tax, estate duty and so on. Insurance, railways, the postal department and basic industries are nationalized. If any Commonwealth country feels that India is a socialist democracy, and does not like it, I say that the example for all these things was set by the British themselves. The railways and the aeroplane, defence and other industries were nationalized during their time, for their own obvious reasons and a few more. From these sources and a few more we are collecting money now. In the first of our Five-year Plans our expenditure per annum—for our population of 400 million—reached £360 million sterling. That money was spent on various activities of the nation. It was spent on industrialization, education, on social services, on irrigation projects, on hydroelectricity and what not. Colossal development has taken place during the same period. Lands have been irrigated. The production of food is a very primary matter. In 1947 a total of 48 million tons were produced. During the whole of the British regime up to 1947 the country was short of its food requirements by 3 million tons annually. The British imported it from Burma, Indo-China and many other places. Today, in spite of increased population, the shortage is still only 3 million tons per annum. In 1948 food production was 48 million tons. In 1958, after ten years, we were able to produce 73 million tons—nearly 50 per cent. more. We plan by 1965 to produce 112 million tons, or about 150 per cent. more, whilst we spent £360 million annually to bring prosperity to our country and we receive help from outside countries, such as the United States and Britain and other countries only to the extent of £30 million sterling annually.

You may ask how we can produce £330 million from within our own country, when we are so poor. My reply is that, while population may be a curse, it is also a strength. Everything that we produce in turn produces rupees. Every man in the land is earning a certain amount of money. It may be said that our standard of living should go up. We agree that, so far as preventing decay and disease is concerned, further progress must be made, but not in the direction of drink, costly clothing and luxurious housing. We want to simplify our lives and concentrate not on accumulation of material wealth, but on things more satisfying to the soul. We want to fill, not the house, but the brain with sound ideals. Poverty is often described as a curse, but wealth may also be a curse. It may be good to have wealth, but it should be spent among all members of the community. Surely this is better than to allow individuals to get bloated with too much wealth. Hence the innumerable taxes. If thereby we can save money, we shall use it to promote national welfare and health.

We do not talk very much about immigration, since an emigration of a million, 2, 3 or even 10 million is not going to make any difference in our population of 400 million. On the other hand, we welcome everyone to our country. Recently another 50,000 from Tibet came into our country and they were most welcome. Everyone from the Commonwealth would be welcome to our country and even others.

Turning now to employment. If we spend 10 million rupees in industrialization we can employ at least about 1,000 people, but if we spent it on handicraft industries we could employ about 20,000 people. Everyone who has attended this Conference from India is wearing material which came from our rural areas. None of us would wear industrially produced material, because we would not wish our countrymen to suffer from hunger as a result of unemployment. Towards this and towards rapid industrialization we need exchange of more experts and technicians. Hence the countries of the Commonwealth must co-operate and deal with each other on equal terms, with understanding of each other's difficulties. There are more English people—



nearly three times more now—in India than ever before and, so far as I am aware, they are very happy.

Let me mention one thing more. Since this Conference began there have been frequent references calling this a British Commonwealth Conference. Is there any other Commonwealth in this world? And why this word British? Stressing this often causes suspicion. The Commonwealth is everybody's. It is as much Indian, African, Australian, Canadian, or other countries of this Commonwealth as that of the British. We from India are in this Commonwealth and not in the British Commonwealth. There is no limitation to our freedom involved in this and because of this people have met together on equal terms, and have explained their viewpoints before others. I hope our view of this will be kept in mind hereafter.

May I at this juncture mention one fact. We have very much appreciated the attitude of the British people who, during the recent British elections, voted against a candidate who was opposed to coloured people inhabiting England, and defeated him in the elections. They have earned the gratitude of all the coloured people in Britain for their broadmindedness. It is these things that have a telling effect. Therefore, so long as we are allowed to express ourselves freely and openly in this Commonwealth, and feel equal to one another, this Commonwealth is sure to develop truly and we shall have full co-operation forthcoming from each country of the Commonwealth.

Lastly, may I say that we have started twelve National Laboratories spread out all over the country, whose equipment and standards are comparable with the best in other countries. As partners in the Colombo Plan and members of the Commonwealth, we would co-operate and welcome students and teachers from all your countries to our institutions and would do our best to look after them and train them as well as we could. We on our side badly need expert advice, teaching facilities, able technicians to help us grow more food and build our numerous industries and irrigation projects.

**Mr. Jatoo Kaleo, M.P. (Ghana):** Mr. Deputy Chairman and fellow Delegates, in my view, the need for technical and educational development and co-operation within the Commonwealth is a vital and pressing one. May I add, Sir, that any talk of development, of raising the standards of living of our people, of wiping out ignorance and disease, and of creating understanding and goodwill among nations, without education is mere bunkum. Education, technical or otherwise, is the keynote of all development.

I am by nature, Mr. Deputy Chairman, a man of few words. I believe in action, and I see that the theme throughout the discussions at this Conference has been the call for more action and less talk. I intend to keep it that way.

The question is not that there has not been any technical and educational development and co-operation in the Commonwealth. The question is, to my mind, whether the policy has been intensive and vigorous enough and whether it has been pursued in such a way that something concrete could be achieved in a shorter time. The Commonwealth countries give technical aid. Ghana, for example, accepts aid from the United Kingdom, Canada, and Australia. There is no formal agreement between Ghana and India in this sphere, but India also has offered help to Ghana in this direction. At least twenty of our students are taking their places in the universities of India in the hope of gaining from the experiences of India. The aid from the United Kingdom and Canada is mainly in the field of public administration, including legal advice. Australia has offered two postgraduate fellowships in engineering tenable in Australia. I met one of the students when I was in Sydney the other day. Canada is going to provide four technical teachers to lecture in the Kumasi College of Technology. This college represents an attempt to train technicians to man the works of this young, vigorous and growing nation—Ghana.

Ghana gets aid, of course, from America and from the United Nations Organization. We are most grateful to all these countries which are giving us this help. In fact, education is one of the main problems of this young nation, and the people of Ghana are already awake to their responsibilities. One-sixth of our annual budget



goes into education, technical or otherwise, But we still have to depend more and more on our experienced sister nations of the Commonwealth to give us help. I understand that there is a great shortage of science teachers and technologists. Some speakers have mentioned it this afternoon. I think that the Commonwealth must organize to harness the energy and resources of all the Commonwealth countries for better results in the work of producing the scientists and the technical men to carry on our development. After all, all through this Conference we have been asking for development in one way or another. I think that our talk will be just a waste of time without this technical and educational co-operation which will bring these mighty developmental projects to fruition.

I may have failed to see as much as I should have seen during our tour in Australia, Mr. Deputy Chairman, but I have noticed one good thing, among others, which is that Australia has much from which Ghana could learn, especially in the field of farming and agricultural methods. Take the example of Australia's water conservation schemes—particularly the magnificent Snowy Mountains Scheme for hydroelectric power. There is much to be gained by Ghana if our young men come over to Australia to learn at first hand Australian techniques.

The Gonja Development Corporation was a gigantic organization formulated in Ghana in order to try to increase food production there. But it failed miserably because of lack of knowledge of the soils and the implements best suited to them. Farm implements with stump-jump action which I have seen here in Australia have fascinated me. This is the first time that I have come across this sort of implement. Such machinery cannot fail to achieve considerable success in our conditions in Ghana.

Why should Ghana start experimenting on ploughs and shears when Australia and other Commonwealth countries have them already? It is in this direction that we think co-operation should start, and be carried on intensively. Why should other Commonwealth countries start experimenting on the production of synthetic cocoa, when cocoa grows naturally and abundantly in Ghana?

**Mr. Denis N. Abii, M.H.R. (*Federation of Nigeria*):** And in Western Nigeria, too.

**Mr. Jatoo Kaleo:** And, I am reminded, in Western Nigeria, too. Although we may not have the technical abilities and knowledge, we have the potential, and we feel that, with co-operation, in the long run we all shall benefit.

I could not agree more with Sir Roland Robinson, who said yesterday that we must face these issues as a crusade—as a holy war. The Commonwealth has been forced into wasteful wars because of the actions of some ambitious and selfish men. We must arm now to fight another war—the war that will end all wars. The Commonwealth has never started a war. It must start one now! This is a war that will not be fought with guns, spears or bows and arrows—a war that will not be fought from the moon or from Mars, or with sputniks. It will be a war nearer home—nearer the people, and in their best interests. It will be a war for progress. This war against ignorance, disease, poverty, superstition and prejudice must be intensive and relentless.

We come from the outlying parts of the Commonwealth. It would surprise many Delegates to learn that I stand here as one of the first of my people who ever went to school. There are many of my sisters and brothers who do not know how to read or write. We still have to work small farms for our livelihood and for our survival, using old methods. Other parts of the Commonwealth, using technical knowledge, are able to produce more. By implementing a policy of co-operation in the fields of education and technology, the bountiful areas of the Commonwealth will stand to benefit greatly. We trust that, with the goodwill that exists, we are going to have it. I think we must each take back home to our people and our Governments this battle cry for action. I have already told you that I do not believe in talk, that I am a man of action. I say that, if we are all prepared to move forward together and extend co-operation open-heartedly, and if we have the will to help by contributing our bit, this experiment, this Commonwealth—which is the greatest in all history—will be successful, and I believe that this Conference can evolve a means of leading the whole world out of



this mess. I feel that if we are all determined to succeed—as we are, or as we should be—we will succeed.

**Mr. Denis N. Abii, M.H.R. (Government Whip, Federation of Nigeria):** Mr. Chairman, my Lords and honourable Members, I want to give further proof of my case that Nigeria has been badly neglected. I think that you will all agree that it is apparent from the speeches that have been made that, apart from the Mother Country, no brother of this family can say that he has given Nigeria anything, with the exception of one of our youngest members of the family—one that is in difficulty, too, I refer to India, which has been kind enough to give some scholarships to Nigeria. All I can say is that Australia has no cause to say that it has given Nigeria anything, and Canada will not say that, either.

I think that the problem of the development—both technically and educationally—of all the underdeveloped countries has been proved to be immense. There is no need for me to waste time by going over the subject again. I could not agree more than I do with the remarks that were made by the Delegate from the United Kingdom, Mr. Clifford Kenyon. He said that the placing of emphasis on university education will not solve the problem. Probably what he meant to say was that, in all the developed and the underdeveloped territories, we should pay more attention to the practical manner of the production of food. I would agree readily with that contention, because food is a common commodity. Without food, you cannot think of what you are going to do. This is the lesson—the practical man must be equipped with knowledge and he must have food to eat. I want to emphasize that the Commonwealth can best help us to develop our country by sending us experts to impart knowledge to our people. We need the help of experts, not only to teach us their knowledge, but also to instruct us how we can apply that knowledge to produce food and carry out public works. Both these things are necessary in order to raise the standard of living of the people of our country.

Mr. Kenyon also laid great emphasis on the factors of delay and graduality. I want to say that he has made a little mistake and that I do not think the home Government will be happy about what he said. Britain has given us all the help it could to enable us to develop as quickly as possible. What does the honourable Member mean? Does he mean that we have to be kept in a state of colonialism? I think it is not very fair to advise us that our development must be slow in this age of science. Does he mean that we should reach the grave before we can expect benefits to come to us as members of this great family? I say humbly that we should not be expected to accept gradualism in these days of science.

He also pointed out that development should take care of overpopulation in the world. I hope that I understood his remarks correctly. I should like, humbly, to tell him that the development of the underdeveloped territories is a means by which the overpopulation of the world may be arrested. I think it is elementary that, as the standard of living of a people rises, they are more prepared to control birth. If this is accepted, then it becomes necessary for the single members of this Commonwealth to go out to develop the underdeveloped countries in order to give them a higher standard of life by improving their means of production. Apparently the honourable Member has forgotten that what we are demanding is the means of increasing production in the most economical manner. I emphasize that development of the underdeveloped territories, both technically and otherwise, will certainly help to control overpopulation in the world.

I should like now to elaborate a statement I made yesterday. I said that, in considering the development of every country, care should be taken first to ascertain the developmental work that the country has already done. I mean, there should be an examination of the potentialities of the respective countries. I make it abundantly clear that my country has the raw materials. We have good soil and we produce vegetable products, and mineral products, including mineral oil. Our population is both willing and ready to work. What the people of my country expect from the Commonwealth is technological advice and an indication, in finance, of how much you can give us, so that we can work to produce more food for ourselves and for



other people who may not have enough food. In that regard, I feel that it has become simple to finalize this matter. It is not a question of begging. Wherever you put this money or wherever you put your energy and intelligence, you are only investing it and, by investment, we hope that we will reap a harvest when the time comes.

With regard to education, I would draw your attention to the necessity of including us in your Colombo Plan or in another similar plan. I said earlier that if you do not want to give us money, we will not blame you. But you have people with very much experience in the field of education. Would you help us by building technical schools in our country, and equip and staff them? After a while, when we can stand on our own feet, they can go back to you. We might even undertake to pay you back for what you have done. I say this in all confidence, because I believe that, if a man has no hope of paying back what he borrows, he is not worthy to borrow.

That brings me to another point which was raised by the Delegate from the United Kingdom. He said that, after people from the underdeveloped countries had been given training in his country, they should go home to give training to their own people. I believe that everybody from underdeveloped countries must look on that statement as very important. He referred to people from the West Indies. I can say with pride that my own countrymen are going to the United Kingdom and America for the golden fleece and that when they get it they are very happy to come home to lead their own people and make use of their education in that way. It is useless to give education to a man who cannot make use of it for the benefit of his neighbour. I am supporting the Delegate from the United Kingdom in saying that we in Nigeria believe in the old saying, "There is no place like home".

Many Delegates have referred to one and the same thing, so I think it would be useless for me to carry on repeating what they have said. But I want to say, as I said in speaking on another subject, that we would like this Commonwealth Association Conference to assemble all the ideas that people have given out here. We would like this Association to send out a kind of a mission to all the underdeveloped territories in order to find out exactly what we want in technical knowledge, in ordinary education and in industrialization. Such a mission could assemble all the facts and make recommendations. It is useless to attend these Conferences if no one takes this matter up. This is an important point. Nigeria has been attending these Conferences for many years, and I have wondered why no nation within this Commonwealth, other than Britain and our young sister, India, has tried to give help to Nigeria, a country of many millions of people. Has it been due to the fact that our representatives have never advertised Nigeria? Or is it due to the fact that we are still what you call an "auxiliary member" of this Association? When I remember that Canada has been helping the West Indies, I ask myself whether the West Indies is now a Main Branch of this Association. Have they dominion status? The answer to that question, it seems to me, is "No". Therefore, you have not neglected Nigeria for the reason that Nigeria is not yet a Main Branch and has not dominion status.

We have pleasure in saying that Her Majesty the Queen, the Head of this Commonwealth, has a great interest in Nigeria. A few months hence you will be getting our invitation to come and rejoice with us in the celebration of our dominion status. I trust that you will all come. We shall receive all of you as friends, but we shall receive some of you as brothers and sisters, and we look back and find out how you treated us when we did not have the great advantage of dominion status. Therefore, if you have not done anything, will you kindly do it?

In closing, I want to refer to the story of the three nurses which I told in my speech yesterday. The nurse of the child who was on the verge of death has been proved to be a bastard. The father has told my people that the child was a bastard, because the mother was found to be wayward, and the mixture of blood in the child did not allow him to do his work well. For that reason, I think it is necessary to remove any blame that might have been there. I humbly ask you, Mr. Chairman, to pass my sympathy to the honourable doctor from South Africa and to ask him, if misunderstanding has been responsible for this story of the ban on the Bantu, what is responsible for the common treatment of every coloured person as a Bantu in South Africa.



I wish to conclude by saying that Nigeria is very grateful to Australia, to Britain and to India, and is expecting other help from other sisters of this Commonwealth.

**Shrimati T. N. Ramamurti, M.P. (India):** Mr. Chairman, long years ago I was invited to attend the League of Nations as a student, as a temporary collaborator. There I found fifty-six nationalities sitting to decide how to secure the real peace that was necessary for this world. Now, much later, the United Nations is trying to promote the same idea on a more extensive scale. The family that is assembled here, the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, is a tremendous achievement. Coming, as we do, from various families, we have met to agree on the one point on which we stand united together, namely to promote the peace and well-being of our peoples. Therefore, I pay my tribute to this assembly for all that it has done and all that it will do in the future, so that we may go on in the way we want to go on and promote peace and harmony.

Having said that, I should like to say with my friends from India that we have received various gifts and benefits, not only in the realm of education but also tangible gifts for medical science and institutions from Britain and her Commonwealth collaborators. I shall mention only one, because time will not permit me to go into detail. I myself am a product of the best in British education, saturated though I am in our own traditions. An institute has been started to carry propaganda against cancer in Madras, and the cancer institute in Adyar, Madras, is very grateful to Canada for the assistance that she has given. It was said of a great conqueror that he came, he saw, and he conquered, but here I was conquered and was impressed by the work of this institute. Canada made us a gift of one of the biggest X-ray cobalt units in the whole of South-East Asia. We pay our tribute to Canada for that magnificent gift, and we hope that more such gifts will be flowing to relieve the suffering and assist the work in medical sciences and also for education at institutions. Please forgive me if I am a little nervous, and allow me to read a little so that I may pay a great tribute to Australia.

As the B.O.A.C. plane approached Sydney a few days ago, I was moved by the enchanting beauty of the scenery at the approach to this great country. It was indicative of the approach of this Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Conference. I saw the orange glow of the rising sun on the horizon and the red rooftops of tiled houses, mingling so colourfully with emerald green lawns and fields and the greenish-blue streams of lagoons and water encircling little islands in the bay. I saw the slowly receding morning mist that was lifting, as it were, a delicate veil from the face of a coy, blushing damsel. All this reminded me of a fairy land of beauty and charm, of tranquillity and peace, and foreshadowed the warm welcome that awaited me at the airport from your most efficient Qantas officials and friends, and later here in Canberra. The members of this Conference are lucky to have their Conference sessions in this country.

Due to the kindness of some of my lady friends in Canberra, I have visited an ideal, pre-school play-centre for children, and a mothercraft centre where babies—the future citizens of this country and of the Commonwealth—are being given the greatest scope for healthy and happy development. Then I saw the War Memorial, erected in memory of the tremendous sacrifices made by the immortal heroes who saved the country and the Commonwealth from disaster. My thoughts turned to the question of what this Conference could do to serve and preserve all that is beautiful in the country and all that is education for good citizenship in the young for all time to come.

That is where the Conference can make its largest and most valuable contribution. This contribution will be possible only through proper education and exchange of ideas. Education is necessary to draw out the best in each individual to enable that individual to reach the highest stature in the service not only of his own country but of all humanity. Sir, once the great poet, Sir Rabindranath Tagore, said, "Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high . . . Where knowledge is free," and where the world has not been broken by narrow domestic matters . . . etc. "into that Heaven of Freedom, Oh my Father, let my country awake!" We should, Sir, break



down narrow domestic matters and make possible a wider outlook and vision through the right type of education.

For the past few days we have had mighty deliberations and frank expressions of views of tremendous significance on economic co-operation and assistance to under-developed countries. Competition may, perhaps, be tolerated in an economic sphere, but in the realm of education what we need is collaboration and healthy emulation and promotion of worthy ideals. Education, ideas and ideals move horizontally and cut right across narrow national frontiers—saints, servants and sages, scholars and philosophers, the master minds, of all ages belong to the world and not just to any particular country. There is a poem in Tamil which says that whereas a monarch is respected only in his country, a learned man is greater than the king, because he is honoured wherever he goes. Coming, as I do, from a land where for ages since the dawn of history the doctrine of non-violence, of peace and harmony among all, has been one of the basic fundamentals of our education, I cannot help feeling that, if culture and civilization are to survive, educational co-operation is necessary and the adoption of the principle of “live and let live” is of the utmost significance and urgency.

We in India have a young democracy. We have democratic ideals that are rooted in the past. For, Sir, what greater democratic principle could there be today than what Sri Ram gave to the world, “Prajaku Raja”—that is, the ruler is for the well-being of the people, for the common good of all. Today in our *panchayat* boards (an ancient institution) in one of them all members are women. Our constitution has guaranteed equality of status, irrespective of sex, caste and creed, and we have been given universal adult franchise. Education for all and adult education in all that pertains to the modern world in the realms of art and science has become necessary, so that in a fast-shrinking world we can more easily and freely exchange ideas, not only amongst ourselves but also with our close neighbours.

Our women, from time immemorial, have been the guardians of hearth and home, of the culture and traditions that they acquired themselves nobly in all fields of activity. They have a storehouse of knowledge in the art and science of housekeeping, the rearing of the family, indigenous medicine, and so on. That is worth investigating for use by others. They have equipped themselves in all fields of activity. The homes are laboratories of skills, skill in drawing as shown in decorative *kotams* and fine domestic handicrafts, as many homes must be in other parts of the world. It is not only in universities that we find laboratories. Every home is a laboratory of skill. At the same time, in the fast-moving world of scientific, technical and technological progress, there is need for us to become conversant with what the rest of the world has to offer. We have stressed the need for planned education programmes in our three Five-year Plans—education in the school and at university level; for all these thousands of trained personnel—teachers, doctors, nurses—village workers in all fields are necessary. We have an obligation to plan for the advancement of education and social welfare and for technical progress. We must plan to educate our people in urban areas and also our people in rural areas.

In the women's colleges the need was felt for imparting education to girls in home science and household arts. We have an exchange programme for experts from other countries to come to our university to teach our students, and for our lecturers to go abroad for postgraduate studies and research. More scholarships are needed for our students and our teachers to go abroad to further their studies. But in addition to this, experts should come to our country to conduct research in our own cereals and food-contents and nutritional value of the foods we grow so that a balanced diet may be worked out for our people. Teaching and training should utilize to the utmost the things in the environment.

There is much scope in our country for those who wish to continue their studies in art, painting, sculpture, literature, archaeology and so on. There was a time when our trade and commerce reached out to Rome and Greece, and Xerxes wanted our muslin and silks. The tradition is that the dress of a lady made of Dacca muslin could be packed into a snuff box, it was so fine. There was a time, Sir, when scholars from East and West thronged the portals of our Norlanda and other universities, and



emperors, like Asoka, carried the message of our ancient beliefs—the doctrine of Ahimsa—to distant parts of the world. There was also a belief—you may laugh at this, Sir—that our ancients knew the art of living eternally. All this points to the possibilities inherent in the revival of knowledge and skills that have been neglected for various reasons, and of research in these directions.

I am myself a product of all that is worthy in our culture and Western education, and I am grateful for what I have learned. Great men have declared that, if you deny freedom abroad, you would soon deny freedom at home. The great master, Laski, argued that if you hurt your finger, only you would feel it most and not others. But if one part of this Commonwealth Parliamentary Association is hurt, I am sure we would all feel it. We cannot call ourselves a Commonwealth, a family, if we do not strive to remove defects everywhere. Some years ago I went to Germany. It is not a Commonwealth country, so I ask you to forgive me for saying this. We all owe a great deal to the intellects of Germany such as Goethe, who revealed to the world the beauty of Kalidasa's drama *Sakuntala* whom he typified as the "ideal woman". All this shows that we should keep our minds wide open to absorb all the knowledge that we can from others and to exchange our ideas where we can. While I agree that the need for technological skills is great, I would plead for education in the humanities so that a proper balance in education will be kept between the material and spiritual subjects.

Sir, time does not permit me to go into detail of all that is needed to bring the world together, but I do emphasize that there should be an exchange of scholars and of research experts. At the Commonwealth Education Conference held in Oxford in July, 1959, our vice-chancellor Sir Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar said that India's cultural heritage was such that it could offer postgraduate students from overseas an opportunity to study archaeology, languages, and the humanities. He pointed out that, for the greater part of this century, the flow of students has been towards Great Britain, but until Edwardian times Britain's most cultured families often sent their sons to some of the older civilizations to complete their education. I would say that there is a great field for research in our country, not only in the subjects I have mentioned, but also in the way of life enshrined in the arts and culture—the culture of homes whose guardians were our women—of our land. We have much to offer and our old cultures should be revived and should find their place in the exchange of educational programmes and research. Some of our homecrafts and handicrafts would be invaluable to other countries and should be investigated. Research scholarships should be made available to our country so that we may play a proper part in the advancement of education.

There is also great scope for educational experiments in our ancient methods of imparting knowledge in the field of arts and science, particularly in mathematics. May I go further and say that this is highly desirable to promote studies of Sanskrit and Tamil, and to establish bureaux for Sanskrit and Tamil studies, and for philosophical research in every university in the world. Tamil culture—as exemplified in "Sangam" literature—would be of eternal value. I know that the trend today is towards industrialization, to advance material progress, for scientific advance, and for the control of the forces of nature. May I plead, Sir, that in our zeal for technical and technological progress we do not create "Rothams Robots" at the sacrifice of our soul. That is why I plead, as the only woman present at this Conference and with all the power in me, for the promotion of education in the humanities, in history, literature, languages and the fine arts, to give due emphasis to humanities so that we will maintain a proper balance between material and moral progress, between the arts and science, so that our knowledge, which is power, can be properly anchored on spiritual and moral foundations, in order that we may guarantee the survival of the human race and not its extinction.

**Mr. T. S. Johnson, B.E.M., M.H.R. (Sierra Leone):** Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates, since the last Montreal meeting there has been an increasing effort to establish technical and educational co-operation at Commonwealth level. Such co-operation is urgently needed. The educational system in most underdeveloped



Commonwealth countries is far below that of the developed areas. In these less advanced areas, mass illiteracy is still very high. The varied activities for co-operation should therefore range from the fight against illiteracy to technical education and the pooling of specialized knowledge for use by member countries. Education in most Commonwealth countries is retarded because of lack of adequate facilities for primary, secondary and university education. Some of the countries are still in abject poverty. These are, therefore, some aspects of the Commonwealth problem which Delegates will help to thrash out.

The major efforts of such co-operation should take the broad lines of planning to extend and improve school education. The chief purpose of this will be to stimulate the improvement and expansion of primary school facilities, with special emphasis on the underdeveloped Commonwealth areas. Careful efforts should be made through special studies and the engagement of experts to increase the number and improve the standards of primary school teachers by the establishment of training colleges. Such projects need the backing of funds provided at Commonwealth levels for research and for publications. Aid should be given to selected universities to establish a limited number of professorships and fellowships primarily for the training of school specialists. More facilities should be provided in the field of natural science, and the Commonwealth countries can co-operate to bring together scientists of different countries to stimulate exchange of scientific information for mutual benefit.

In order to overcome the problem of mass illiteracy, encouragement should be given for the development of out-of-school education. This would aim at giving the people, especially those in underdeveloped areas who have had no opportunity of going to school, basic education. Fundamental education consists of imparting the minimum knowledge and skill that people need to help themselves to improve their standard of living and to take a productive part in the social and economic life of the community. The provision of fundamental education is an emergency measure. Its aim is not only to remedy the widespread inability to read and write, but also to eliminate the lack of basic knowledge that breeds disease and poverty and prevents people from improving their lot. The results of the provision of this fundamental education can be highly encouraging, especially in the underdeveloped areas where mass illiteracy is prevalent.

To supplement such fundamental education, encouragement should be given for the establishment of more adult education centres. These centres are based upon the proposition that education is a process which should not stop upon a person's leaving school, but should continue throughout his life. Member countries of the Commonwealth can encourage such adult education by co-operating to institute national regional seminars, sending field missions to make surveys and advise on projects.

The Commonwealth should also give full consideration to the matter of technical education. In view of developments towards industrialization and the increased emphasis on technology, more attention should be paid to technical assistance in the fields of education and science. The purpose of such a programme would be to help underdeveloped countries to strengthen their national economy by improving the standards of their entire population.

More help should be given to universities in the underdeveloped areas to re-organize courses and teaching methods at technology institutes, covering such subjects as foundry engineering, time and motion study, jig and tool design, machine tool engineering, press shop and rolling stock practices. Technical co-operation should involve, if possible, the exchange of instructors and lecturers. This will stimulate the dissemination of knowledge and help to promote understanding among Commonwealth countries. The main problem that retards education in the underdeveloped areas is that of poverty, which renders difficult the attempts made to improve the standard of education.

Educational co-operation should be carried out by means of the granting of scholarships. The Delegates at the last Montreal Conference commended the scheme of Commonwealth scholarships and fellowships. Such scholarships would be in the fields of humanities and social as well as natural sciences, and would tend to develop high standards of intellectual achievements.



There are many advantages to be derived from this kind of co-operation. Exchange of postgraduates and teaching personnel will accelerate intensive research in the fields of cultural and social development. Commonwealth scholarships and fellowships would help to maintain a high standard of advanced study. This co-operation will also open new avenues for Commonwealth studies which will eventually lead to the solution of many hidden problems.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, I must express my gratitude to the officers and members of the Commonwealth, and to our joint Australian hosts, for the opportunity to speak at this Conference. Sierra Leone has a population of 2½ million, spreading over an area of almost 28,000 square miles, on the Atlantic coast of West Africa, having a common frontier with the Republic of Guinea on the north-east and the Republic of Liberia on the south-east. The history of this ancient country is known, I dare say, by Delegates to this historic Conference. Financially, Sierra Leone is still young, and therefore I must stress the need of assistance from developed members of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. Indeed, Sierra Leone is not insensitive and will ever be grateful to the United Kingdom Government for grants received from time to time from the Colonial Development and Welfare Funds.

This assistance has greatly improved the Development Programme within the municipal government, the rural area administration, and the Provincial Councils. The principal products of the Territory include diamonds, iron ore, chromite, lignite, palm kernels, piassava and coffee.

The aim of the present Government is to obtain independence as early as possible, and therefore to invite capitalists to invest in minerals and other industries with the fullest assurance that all such investments in Sierra Leone will be fully protected now and at all other times.

**Colonel Douglas Glover, T.D., M.P. (*United Kingdom*):** Mr. Chairman, Lady and Gentlemen, I think this is perhaps the most important discussion that we have had at this Conference, because I am quite certain that the raising of the standards of the underdeveloped nations—the term is rather an insult to India, the most ancient civilization represented here, so that perhaps I might say the poorer nations—will only be brought about by the efforts of the people living within those countries. The United States of America, either in aid grants or in defence expenditure, has during the last ten years spent £25,000 million in various parts of the world. Yet despite this, in 1939 five out of ten people in the world were undernourished, and today the proportion has risen to six out of ten, so it becomes obvious that the task of raising the standard of living of people in underdeveloped countries cannot be done only by aid, but comes down to a matter of helping them to do the job for themselves. I was very impressed with the speech of Mr. Abii, except for the last part of it, because in all the speeches he has made at this Conference he has said quite clearly that Nigeria accepts the fact that in the end the task falls on her own shoulders. What he was saying all along the line was, “You give us a hand to help us to get the job done more quickly”, and that, I believe, should be the purpose of this debate.

There seems to me to be in this debate too high an emphasis on university education. I do not mean this unkindly, but I believe that among the Delegates at this Conference from the so-called developed countries there are more horny-handed sons of toil with callouses on their fingers than there are from the underdeveloped countries. It is not only knowledge and brains that are required to produce wealth and well-being. A good deal of it is a result of commonsense, integrity and a belief in the dignity of labour; I believe that that is one of the things that we have to re-instil all over the world. But, of course, education as such is vitally important in relation to the problem we are discussing today. It seems to me, however, that we discuss so many of our problems in a vacuum, so this afternoon I should like to submit that it would be a good idea if we established a Commonwealth Development Educational Board, which could look at the problem of education as required throughout the Commonwealth.

It seems to me again that it is a rather wasteful method of giving aid, that students should have to travel thousands of miles with all their fares paid backwards and



forwards to universities and technical colleges in other lands where they may even be taught many things which will be of little value in their own country. I wonder whether the right way to tackle this and at the same time to knit the Commonwealth together more quickly than otherwise would be the case if we could see the "United Kingdom University of Nigeria", or the "Canadian College of Technology" in Lagos. I would like to see the more developed countries take on the building of technical or agricultural colleges after discussions with the countries concerned, staffing them with their own professors, educationists and experts who would, year by year, become more conversant with the problems of the country with which they were dealing. Therefore, the students year by year would get a better education in the problems of their own country. I think it goes even further than that, because it means that, as the country develops, the premises are there for the country itself to take over and run as its own show and be self-supporting on the educational level and on the level of production of experts—the people who will help to raise the standards of that country.

I believe that it would be a good thing if, when we return home, we put such proposals to our Governments. I think that the idea is sufficiently important to merit our trying to persuade the Prime Ministers, when they meet next year, to consider it, because raising the standards in the countries concerned is a question of education and technical know-how. Increased production and development rely to a large extent on the man in the bowler hat—I hope that Lord Attlee will not mind me using that term. At least half of the solution of this problem depends on the man in the bowler hat, the foreman who sees the job done, and that type of man is very much needed in many of the countries which are trying to increase their standard of living and their knowledge and at the same time bring back once again the dignity of labour. I wonder whether people know what I mean by that. I was most impressed last year when I went to Israel. I know that Israel is a small country with many and great problems. I found that the Israelis were taking the best brains in the country and putting those brains to tilling the soil, improving the forests—not using them purely as lawyers and doctors, however beneficial that might be, but using them to produce the wealth on which all the remainder of the people depend for their sustenance. Even those who were taking the more technical courses spent at least six months on the land doing a job and realizing the importance of nature in our well-being. I think you could all take a very big leaf out of the book of tactics of the Israelis when it comes to education.

As speaking time has been cut to ten minutes, and I am not going to have you knocking with your gavel, Mr. Chairman, all I would say is that if we could get a Commonwealth Development Education Board which could study these problems on the educational level over the whole of the Commonwealth I believe we would thereby take a vast step forward in tackling this problem.

**Hon. John R. Courage, M.H.A. (Speaker of the House of Assembly, Newfoundland):** Mr. Chairman, on 24th June, 1497, a man called John Cabot sailed into a harbour in Newfoundland at a place which was afterwards called St. John's. There and then was born the British Empire which later developed into the Commonwealth that we now represent. I am very proud to represent here the cornerstone of that Commonwealth and, along with it, Prince Edward Island, which was the cradle of the confederation of the Canadian Provinces in 1867; and to be a part of the Canadian Delegation which has received so much praise from this gathering, for which we all thank you.

I believe that this Conference has been a great success. We have made friends and we have seen this great country of Australia, and we have begun to appreciate each other's point of view and understand each other's way of life in a way that we could never have done had we stayed home and read books. I believe that some of the friendships we have made will last throughout our lives, and that the knowledge we have gained will mean that we shall go back to our own countries with a much broader education. I am sure that, when I return home and tell the people about Australia, I shall be like Marco Polo. They just will not believe me. I have seen too many marvels.



In the limited time at my disposal I have made a special study of education in Australia. Perhaps that is natural, because I was a schoolmaster when I was 16 years old, as was my father. My grandfather was also a teacher and my great-grandfather taught school for more than fifty years. I am today a member of the Board of Education of St. John's, and Chairman of the Adult Education Council. So I am very interested in education, and I can say here and now that the people of Australia have every right to be proud of their educational system, and of their young people. I have been very much impressed indeed by some of your universities and many of your schools which I have seen. I mentioned this fact to some people in Australia and they immediately began to talk about the architecture and buildings. I did not see the buildings. I do not know anything about the buildings. I wanted to know what was going on—not what the professors or the Vice-Chancellor thought, but what the students thought. I can say that I saw in those places young people who are the most altruistic I have ever seen. Those in the schools and those in the universities speak very highly of the work being done there, and that is the highest praise that can be given.

I do not have time to discuss education as much as I should like to do, but I submit that if we are going to raise the standard of living in various countries of the Commonwealth it is still more important that we should raise the standard of thought in those countries. What the people are going to do with the machines they produce will depend very largely on what they are thinking. A thing that has really amazed me, not only here in Australia, but also in Great Britain, where I was even more forcibly struck, is the deterioration of the Press. It is a sad commentary on our educational system that so many people are reading such trash in newspapers and in books. What is wrong with our education that is causing people to sit down and read such stuff as I saw people reading in England? Is it possible that the English people read their newspapers in the subways, or are they merely hiding behind them? In England I carried around the *London Times*, which was the only thing I found fit to read. It made me rather conspicuous and self-conscious. On the day that the Russians hit the moon, the *London Times* said, "Russians report that they have reached the moon with a rocket". One very dignified-looking old gentleman sitting across the train compartment from me was reading a newspaper in which the headlines went this way: "Russians score bull's-eye on the moon. Big cloud of dust that you can't see".

I suggest that we should do something about educating people to read a better type of literature in our schools, and probably all of us could take away that thought with us. Just compare what we are reading today with what people read a hundred years ago or even fifty years ago. If you do, I think you will wonder whether our much-vaunted education is what we think it is.

Another thing I would like to mention is the worth of the teacher. We have had a very long discussion, but nobody has so far mentioned the teacher—not a person. How can we educate people without teachers? How can we train and hold teachers if we do not encourage them? Each one of us here who is a Member of Parliament—and most of us are very influential Members of Parliament—can do something, each in his own little corner, to make people realize the worth of the teacher. Let us do it. I was most amazed to find that, in spite of the low salaries here in Australia, so many young people were going into the teaching profession. We must not only raise the standard of our education before we can export it; we must raise the standard of our teachers, and we must encourage our teachers by giving them better salaries and a higher social status instead of merely paying lip-service to them.

I believe that Colonel Glover, in his very short but interesting speech, had a great idea when he spoke of a Commonwealth Educational Board. I do not know what this body can do to set up such a board, but I do hope it can be set up, and it would be one of my great joys if I could only serve on it. In closing, Sir, may I say that for the first time we realize fully that this Commonwealth is one family, with the Queen at its head. For the first time, we realize that we are all brothers and sisters. I submit that any system of education that is worth exporting must teach people not only to live better, but to think better and to live together, and I wish to emphasize the word "together".



**Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M.L.C. (Chairman of the Legislative Council, *West Bengal*):** Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates, I have noted that in the course of our deliberations here we have talked a great deal about ways to make life possible and easy, but with the exception of a very few people, including the speaker who preceded me, nobody seems to have thought about certain basic things for making life worth living. I have been a teacher in my own university of Calcutta and elsewhere for some forty-five years, and my subject has been the humanities. I find that although certain things are happening with our young men, there are features of our educational policy that we should take serious note of; otherwise life will not be worth living.

I do not want to discuss this whole matter in detail, but I should like to put before you one or two things. I want to make a plea for according a proper and an honoured place to the study of the humanities in our secondary and university education in the Commonwealth. This is a matter of high educational interest and import, and while it is something mainly for specialists to discuss and finalize, the average citizen is not unaffected by it. I feel a peculiar pleasure in being able to advocate the study of the humanities in our Commonwealth education in a country which gave to the modern world a great supporter of the Greek humanities like Gilbert Murray. The subjects which we are teaching our boys and girls and young people at school and college have either an informative value or a formative value. The scientific subjects, relating to the physical world, have a distinct informative value only. They put a modicum of positive information into the minds of pupils, about facts which have, of course, a great practical value and without a knowledge of which we could not get on at all in these days.

But merely informative training will not draw out all the faculties of men and women. There must be some formative subjects as well, which will succeed in developing the personality, the integrity of character of the young person, his intellectuality or reasonableness of approach, his imaginativeness and ability to put himself in the place of other people, his self-possession through a knowledge of the verities and of things that have an enduring value. The humanistic approach, which alone can bring about the full mental and spiritual, aesthetic and philanthropic, unfolding of man's nature, is based unquestionably upon the great assumption that there is some abiding ultimate reality behind life. The nature of this reality is not and cannot be asserted categorically by the human senses and the human mind. It is beyond our thoughts and words. In India we have assumed all possibilities. This ultimate reality is conceived as a supreme spirit, as a cosmic moral and natural law, as a personal god (who can be conceived in terms of human relationship as father or mother, lover or sweetheart, brother or son, master or friend), or as a State to which we return or which we can create ourselves through our own efforts. Be that as it may, it is on the basis of this ultimate reality, on the standard of this, that we build up our individual moral life, our social corporate life and also our national and international life.

In former days, before steam and electricity, life was not so complex, and man did not have so many scientific devices and technical gadgets. But what he lacked in mechanical devices he instinctively sought to compensate for by creating a more potent ideological atmosphere for himself, in which he could ordinarily find a satisfactory, though a restricted, philosophy of life; and this philosophy was grounded in a tradition and a folk-lore which were on the whole fairly reasonable and humane, if not absolutely rational and scientific.

In spite of obstructions, the tradition of humanistic studies, with the background of the unseen reality and the mystery to which man aspires, has helped man to sweeten his life. And in so far as it is based on the free play of the mind of man and on the sacredness of man's rights as man, it has indirectly supported the development of his personality. But at the present moment, due primarily to the struggle for existence in an ever-increasing population and the inevitable dwindling of easily obtainable natural resources, man is compelled to forgo his old leisurely existence. He must concentrate on the acquisition of those knowledges and techniques which will help him to eke out a living for himself and his community in a world getting to be more and more mechanized. The precious heritage of the past cannot be much longer maintained in the old way, and already in societies which are highly advanced technologically and



which have become largely urbanized, this heritage is wellnigh lost. Scientific and technical knowledge, with an extensive use of scientific gadgets, is bringing in efficiency, with the last word in creative comforts. But the sense of spontaneous joy and happiness, which was so natural in a society that was not too much sophisticated and which was often successful in overriding the sorrows and sufferings resulting from social injustices, exploitations, cruelties and arrogances which were there (and which we have not been able wholly to eliminate anywhere), is fast receding from man.

I do not want to bring in the continuous war, ideological and otherwise, which is being waged against the humanistic and traditional studies, in so far as they are based on the assumption or conviction or realization of an ultimate reality, in Communist countries, where the ruling and organizing party has faith only in a materialistic interpretation of the world and life. There the question of an ultimate reality has no meaning or value, although "culture" is, of course, one of the professed objectives of Communist policy. But this "culture" has a different meaning or implication. We are naturally concerned with the world outside the Communist orbit, and specially with the Commonwealth countries as possessing and fostering certain great ideals in common, for example those of parliamentary democracy.

I do not want to trouble the Conference with a description of the main humanistic subjects that should have a place in our school and college education. I feel that a classical language like Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Old Chinese or Arabic, as embodying certain great ideas which still move mankind, and some of the great modern languages, specially English as the most important vehicle of world culture, should have a place in our educational system for all students. I feel also that certain other matters deserve our fullest consideration, and these I bring before your notice at this stage.

The essential unity of man, and all liberal ideas in matters intellectual and human, should be inculcated. Man's striving towards co-operation and integration as a great fact of his history is another matter to be brought to the notice and understanding of the young men and women of the age. The lessons of the great religions, in so far as they are of universal application and are free from theological dogma, as well as the lessons of the great revolutions, silent social revolutions or violent political upheavals, will certainly form an indispensable part of the modern humane studies and of a modern tradition that is to be built up, upon the basis of what we have received in the old humane tradition, which doubly underlined the basic connexion of man with the ultimate reality. Thus, Hindu universalism with its acceptance of all the various paths in the realization of the ultimate truth in the life of man; Buddhist intellectualism in its criticism of the theory of a personal God, combined with charity and active good-doing for all creatures, and culminating in the ideal of the Bodhisattva gladly taking up sorrow and suffering for the sake of others; Christian dedication to faith in God and service of man; Taoist idealism in seeking to be in tune with the infinite; Confucian striving to create the ideal social being; Hebrew moral fervour in seeking to realize in life the behests of the One True God; Islamic submission to this One God's will as that of the great taskmaster, supplemented by the Sufi approach to God as love and as being truly the God of all mankind. Ideals like these from the great living religions should be brought to the door of all young men and women, as part of a new humane tradition.

There is a great tendency to reduce humanistic studies in order to make room for the study of science. There is a movement to neglect all the great thoughts which have nurtured humanity and which can still prove of advantage in this world. I have detected, deep down, an underlying need for them in the hearts of men and women who belong to the so-called materialistic orbit. They may not be very articulate about it, but I am convinced that it is there. I cannot give positive proof, but I have come to that conclusion as a result of my two visits to the People's Republic of China and one visit to the Soviet Union. The present mechanized world, with its overpopulation and its distractions, affords very little leisure for thinking and for guiding the mind. If it is admitted that humane studies, as they have developed in the best traditions of the great civilized countries, have conduced and can still conduce to high thinking, to happiness and peace for man (without being able to establish the Utopia which is



receding farther and farther from us, no matter whatever the political set-up might be), and can still be of strength to him in leading the good life and the life helpful to his fellows, then it is to be retained at all costs. We should not be scared at the sacrifice of some bits of factual information or even the expected material advantage, which ordinarily has but an ephemeral value.

Mr. Abii from Nigeria yesterday put in a strong plea for our boys and girls in the Commonwealth knowing something about the geography and history of the Commonwealth countries. In our study of modern civilization and the modern world, we must of course know something about the bases supplied by the Greco-Roman world, the Near East and India and China. This is becoming generally accepted, and U.N.E.S.C.O. is seeking to bring about a greater inclusion of Indian and Chinese and other Eastern civilizations in the educational system of the West, and of Western civilization correspondingly in the East. We should now, particularly within the Commonwealth orbit, think of Africa. African culture is now being rehabilitated, particularly through the study of its great art and its religion and society, by artists and art-critics and anthropologists and sociologists. We are now in a position to formulate an Africanism, a Black African *weltanschauung*, as a distinctive thing in the world of Man, *vis-à-vis* a Hellenism, a Hebraism, an Indianism, a Sinism, or a Europeanism. This will have its value for man everywhere in understanding himself, and I will certainly support strongly its inclusion among the cultural subjects throughout the Commonwealth.

Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates, I close with this great prayer from Ancient India, which will receive the support of all who want the fullest knowledge and the realization of man's highest aspirations, through education:

āvir āvir ma ēdhi:  
asatō mā sad gamaya,  
tamasō mā jyōtir gamaya,  
mrtyōr mā amrtam gamaya.

"Thou art manifest, be Thou manifest to me!  
Lead me from the unreal to the Real,  
Lead me from darkness to the Light,  
And from death lead me to Immortality."

Hon. Hassan Ali Bayoomi, B.E.M., M.L.C. (Member in charge of Labour and Welfare, and Antiquities Department, Aden): Mr. Chairman, while I do not wish to give the impression that I am an expert in the field of education, I think I can make out a case that more could and should be done in Aden in the educational sphere.

All that I would do today is explain in simple terms the problems we are facing in the sphere of general and technical education. By doing so, I do not wish it to be implied that I have come here to represent my country on anything like a begging mission, as I imagine that the avowed objective of such Conferences is to strengthen the bonds of friendship and relationship between the various nations of the Commonwealth irrespective of their size, financial or economic resources, class, creed and colour. Education constitutes an important element in the building up of a nation, which can contribute so much not only towards such an achievement but in enabling us to understand the intrinsic values of a human being, and what he is entitled to as such. Therefore, my plea for more and better facilities will not be out of place.

Aden is an Arab country with a cosmopolitan population of 138,000, of whom 106,000 are Arabs. These figures were taken from the census of 1955. Normally, in such a computation, one gets only semi-accurate statistics. Aden is 75 square miles in area, including the Kamaran and Perim Islands, and if these were knocked off Aden would probably be the smallest British colony represented at this Conference.

The educational structure is made up of primary, intermediate and secondary levels. Our schools are government schools and some are aided, some are not. We have thirty-five primary schools, sixteen intermediate schools, seven secondary schools,



one technical and vocational school, and two teacher-training schools. There are 9,070 male students and 3,547 female students, details of which are as follows:

				<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
Primary	..	..	..	5,073	2,607
Intermediate	..	..	..	2,926	719
Secondary	..	..	..	799	221
Technical	..	..	..	272	—
				<hr/> 9,070 <hr/>	<hr/> 3,547 <hr/>

Between 1955–56 and 1959–60, the expenditure on education, apart from scholarships, rose from £181,707 sterling to £447,266 sterling, in a £4 million budget. At the end of 1958 there were forty-seven scholarships held by students in the United Kingdom which were financed by the Aden Government. There were twelve financed by Colonial Development and Welfare Funds, nine financed by the Aden Municipality, three financed by Aden Port Trust and there were also twenty-nine private students. We are immensely grateful for the facilities and assistance which we receive from the United Kingdom.

Under the 1960–64 Development Plan several schools, primary and intermediate, for boys and girls, will be started, and a second secondary school will also be built. Owing to financial stringency the possibility of introducing a shift system in the primary and intermediate schools has not been ruled out. The problem lies in the disparity between the intermediate output and secondary intake. We have provided enough placings in various courses such as clerical, evening classes, grouped courses and apprenticeship projects, but the more intermediate schools are constructed, the more output is increased and the gap of disparity becomes wider and wider, and it will have been noticed from the figures quoted above that my country, with all its limitations, is doing all that it can in the field of education. But it is not enough, and much more is obviously required to be done if we want to catch up with more advanced countries. The gap of disparity is particularly large in the sphere of higher and technical education. The only way to fill this gap, in my opinion, is to persuade the more favourably placed countries to come forward and extend facilities for scholarships, staff, teacher-training and technical equipment to the less advanced countries like mine, so that, in the course of time, the standards of education shall be uniformly high in all the nations of the Commonwealth. This is not only desirable but also quite necessary, if the different members of this family of nations are to walk together.

I am sure, from what little knowledge and experience I have gained of other nations in the course of the last few weeks, that there is an abundance of goodwill and friendship towards each other and, particularly, a genuine desire to help countries which are not so favourably placed as their own. I think that the time is opportune to turn this tremendous amount of goodwill and friendship to good account on the lines I have indicated above, and I hope that this will be done. We in Aden are grateful to the Government of India for giving us one scholarship annually through their Commissioner in Aden.

**Mr. John M. Howard, M.P. (United Kingdom):** Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates, this is the third subject to be debated at this Conference, and I think we have now talked for sufficiently long for everyone to agree that the three subjects so far debated overlap at all points. This, perhaps, is the most important of the three topics we have discussed. It is of little use to apply economic aid and assistance to the underdeveloped countries without technical and educational development. Without that development, without Commonwealth co-operation in the sphere of education and technology, the aid which is offered will fail to be fully effective.

A good deal of the aid needed by underdeveloped countries is being provided already. We know that a lot more could be done. If we are to get to grips with the problem in the Commonwealth, we must decide the stages and the extent of the development which is practicable in each territory. When we have decided that, we must see that the technical and educational development is phased to keep pace with



economic and industrial advancement. If we do this, we shall ensure that none of the economic aid is wasted and that we are ready to use it in all the territories, because, in those territories, there will already be people with the skill and knowledge—trained personnel at all levels, from Colonel Glover and his bowler hat upwards—to take full advantage of the aid and the opportunities as they arise.

In this age, when there is an acute shortage of technicians, the scope for Commonwealth co-operation is clearly even greater. We can co-operate to our mutual advantage by cutting out duplication in research. Mr. Jatoo Kaleo, from Ghana, referred to the different kinds of ploughs in use in Canada and Australia. That indicates a useful way in which we can push our knowledge round the Commonwealth. At the same time, we can send technical data from one country to another. We can train one another's technicians. If we work towards these objectives, we shall ensure that the number of technicians available in the Commonwealth is spread over the widest possible field and is not limited to the countries which are most advanced technically.

A good deal has already been done in the sphere of technical assistance, both in the Commonwealth and elsewhere. The Colombo Plan has been mentioned. That is not exclusively a Commonwealth plan, but it owes its inception and its success to Commonwealth initiative. The United Kingdom has already subscribed a considerable sum to the Plan and is subscribing something of the order of £9 million over the seven years ending in 1963. There are also two United Nations schemes—the expanded programme for technical assistance and a special fund for new projects. Again, the United Kingdom is coming forward with something like £3 million in 1960. We have heard mention already of several Commonwealth schemes, and I shall not refer to those again. A good illustration of Commonwealth co-operation in the technical sphere is in telecommunications, where, quite recently, a Commonwealth Board has begun advising the partner Governments on how best to deal with our problems of telecommunications.

I have talked of technical assistance. Substantial advances in education, also, are essential. Perhaps the biggest thing that has happened in recent years in the sphere of educational co-operation is the Commonwealth Education Conference at Oxford, to which passing reference has been made. That Conference was held in July of this year, and it certainly marked a positive step forward in the field of Commonwealth co-operation. Two major points were made. The first was that, in the Commonwealth, education has been established as an object of the same close and continuous consultation as exists in the spheres of finance and economic aid. The second point is that mutual assistance in education is a Commonwealth—I underline the word “Commonwealth”—responsibility of the first importance. It is a responsibility of the family. It is no longer merely a responsibility of the United Kingdom.

Plans to increase assistance to the underdeveloped countries through certain detailed proposals for teacher-training and the supply of teachers are to cost another £10 million over the next five years. The United Kingdom will subscribe £6 million.

I have mentioned a few instances of co-operation in the technical sphere. May I conclude by referring to some of the instances of Commonwealth co-operation in the field of education. First of all, there are the universities. I represent in the House of Commons the new university—the red-brick university—of Southampton. We have a technical slant at that university. I am happy to tell you that quite a number of students from all parts of the Commonwealth are studying there. In fact, throughout our universities in England—not only at Southampton, but elsewhere—we have something like 400 Commonwealth trainees under the Colombo Plan alone.

Now, what about training teachers? How are we progressing in that field in Britain? In 1958–59, 730 students from the Commonwealth were undergoing training in the training establishments in the United Kingdom. We can quote under this heading an example of co-operation between the countries of the Commonwealth, for we have two training establishments—one at Liverpool and the other at Wolverhampton—in each of which there are 300 students from Malaya. We provide the college and the teaching staff, but the Malayan Government pays for the instruction



of Malayan trainee teachers in Great Britain. I think that is an admirable example of Commonwealth co-operation.

In relation to technical training, there were in 1958 some 6,600 students from the Commonwealth studying in the technical colleges throughout the United Kingdom. If we look at the student population in the United Kingdom—I am reminded here of the remarks of Mr. Courage of Newfoundland, who said that we still have a need of education in Britain; he certainly underlined the fact that we have a problem, just as every member of the Commonwealth has a problem—we find that there are some 40,000 students from overseas, two-thirds of them from the Commonwealth countries. Like most of the problems that we have discussed, education is a family problem, and like so many other problems, also, it is a world problem, which should be tackled for our mutual benefit. The greater the degree of co-operation, the greater will be the speed with which this and other problems in the Commonwealth will be solved.

**Mr. F. A. McCain, M.L.A. (New Brunswick):** Fellow Delegates, I concur wholeheartedly with the gentleman who has just spoken, who said that this subject is interlaced with all the other subjects which we have discussed, because bit by bit the little thinking that I have been capable of on this subject has been nibbled away, like a mouse chewing at a hunk of cheese, until it seems to have pretty thoroughly disappeared into the general conversation which has already taken place.

There was one note sounded today—a note of some impatience—as to the speed with which some of the education could be accomplished in the areas where it is so badly needed. I would like to point out, Sir, that it is not so very many years ago that my grandfather was holding me on his knee and he told me of his being present when a barge landed in front of our home on the St. John River. The barge had been towed 90 miles by horse to bring the supplies for the community in for the winter. Now, Sir, that would be something perhaps in the nature of 100 years ago, and in that 100 years terrific progress has been made in our area. I think that we must admit that had I, as a small boy sitting on the shore of the St. John River, told my grandfather that passengers would fly through the air, that produce would be hauled by trains, and that family trips would be taken in an automobile capable of 120 miles an hour, he would have accused me of witchcraft. Had it happened a couple of hundred years earlier in the Old Country, the man who made such a suggestion might even have been burned at the stake for the same charge.

Now, Sir, I submit that we must have some degree of patience. If we look back to 100 years ago we will again see on the north coast of Canada no line of communication. We will observe that the Canadian-Pacific Railway was completed across Canada much less than 100 years ago, that the development of that great Province today of British Columbia became rampant after '98; the trail of '98 led to the gold rush up in the Canadian north territories, and it was with that that the west of Canada began to develop. So we do not have to go back too many years, and I am sure we will not have to wait very long to see a development by the co-operation indicated here which will satisfy all of us, impatient though we may be today.

I said that my speech had been nibbled away bite by bite. I think the biggest bite was taken this morning by Mr. Kenyon, when he said that we would starve to death if we waited for the experts to feed us. I could not agree with anybody more wholeheartedly. It was again nibbled at by Colonel Glover, and again by Dr. Chatterji who, I think, made very outstanding suggestions in connexion with education, and that is, let us have it in the economic and feasible way; let us take it to the place where it is to be most useful. The cost of transportation, as was mentioned, is taking up enough money to educate several people if we could only get the job done on the spot.

My education, Sir, has had one of the greatest lifts in the last six weeks that it will probably have in any similar period of my life, no matter how long a span I may be given. I have learned of problems at first hand. I have heard them discussed from both sides—problems which the Press have presented to the public in a fashion which the public would want to read, not necessarily as the problems actually were. That, Sir, I think, is the key to what we have got to do in our education. I think the primary



thing is the preservation of the system of government, the preservation of the system of free enterprise, the preservation of the system of democracy so that we may meet and argue and discuss and criticize—we might even call each other names just a little bit under our breath so that the other fellow won't hear us—but nevertheless temperatures have perhaps risen just a little bit on occasions here. And what a wonderful privilege! Mr. Chairman, that is based upon the education of our youth. It is not just the education of technicians. We shall not preserve for our children the privilege which we have here today of criticizing one another in a friendly fashion or of criticizing our own Government in any fashion if we do not teach our youth, in those first six, seven, eight or nine years of their education, the ability to read and the ability to discuss problems for themselves and to understand the problems as they are presented; the ability to listen to their politicians—the good ones and the bad ones—and to sort out from the case as presented the part which means the most to them and which will do the most for the country which they are going to own and operate in the not too distant future instead of us.

Sir, we cannot give education at that level in Canada to people who live in India, Nigeria, Ghana, or any other country. That type of education must be taken and must be spread—how, I do not know. Perhaps one of the great weaknesses of this organization is that it has no authority to act, but certainly one of its great strengths is that it has the opportunity to disseminate the opinions and the needs and the ideas of others. It impresses me, Sir, that one of the greatest needs in education is the one which has been discussed the least—the primary education of the masses so that the cream of them may receive the higher education which will create the industrial development, the agricultural development, the intellectual development necessary to make each and every member of this Commonwealth a key member, a member of respect in this Commonwealth and in the world at large.

I think our most important thing, Sir, is to take the seeds of education to the field, and sow them in the fertile ground in such a fashion that they will produce a race of people and a Commonwealth at large which will always be the same bulwark of democracy, free enterprise and initiative, and go ahead in the way we have been experiencing in the last twenty-five years. There is much that I would like to add, but out of due respect for those who will have to speak after me, I shall now conclude.

**Hon. A. W. Downer, M.L.A. (Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, Ontario):** Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates, two years ago at this time I had the great privilege and pleasure of representing my Province at the Conference in India. At that time I extended an invitation to the Delegates to visit Ontario, and I said that if they would come to Canada I would welcome them at the airport and be very glad to look after them while they were in our Province. I would like to say that a great number accepted that invitation. I had the privilege of welcoming a good many from various parts of the Commonwealth. I would like to re-extend that invitation. I do not care what part of the Commonwealth you come from. We have had men and women from Nigeria and Ghana, from India and Malaya and, of course, from the United Kingdom. But wherever you come from you will receive a very warm welcome in the Province of Ontario.

The subjects under discussion at this Conference are so intertwined, so linked together, that one could talk at length on any one and, at the same time, make a contribution to the complete agenda. There is no complete or clear line of demarcation, and there can be no such line. I could tell you, this afternoon, of our financial and technical assistance to the smaller countries of the Commonwealth. We are indeed proud, in Canada, of our record. If you look at the figures you will find that we of Canada are giving more *per capita* to the smaller nations of the Commonwealth—to the underdeveloped countries—than any other nation on earth, including the United States of America. But I would like to say that the rest of the Commonwealth have contributed to us, too.

I feel that your contributions in many ways puts us to shame. When I look at India, for example, and when I think of its culture and its philosophy, I realize how much we owe to her. When I think of the Middle East, from which we received our



basic philosophy of life—our very way of life, even our faith—I realize more and more the debt that we owe to other peoples and other cultures.

There are two things of basic importance in our world, it seems to me. The two things of basic importance are land and people—the two most important things of all. All our problems have to do with those two things—land and people. It has been said that two acres of land are required to sustain a single individual. How important, therefore, is land to the people! How important is land to the people of India, where less than three-quarters of an acre per person is all that they possess! Therefore, first and foremost, we must help them to produce. We must give them the help and technical assistance that will enable them to produce two blades of grass where one grew before and help them to produce two cobs of corn where one grew before. We must help them to increase their productivity so that famine will not be an ever-present threat. Of course, in North America, taking the whole continent, we have five acres of arable land for every single individual. What a difference! No wonder we have made tremendous progress, because land is very important.

So I say that, out of our vast potential production, we can share with people where the land supply is limited. Surely we should not accept everything as it is in our world. It is up to us to think, to plan, to question, and to bring about changes. In Canada, we have no ambition to extend our frontiers. We have no interest in aggression. The same thing is true of Australia, of course, and of South Africa, and all the rest of the Commonwealth. But we, in Canada, are particularly interested in lifting the standard of living the world over and we are ambitious enough to think that this can be done. The example that the people of the Western world give in the next few years will unquestionably have a tremendous effect on the shape of things to come and may actually decide whether or not civilization, as we know it, will survive. With this in mind, I cannot give you any better advice than that which was given to a group of young people by one of our Canadian leaders, our Prime Minister of today. He said:

As for you who stand on the threshold of life, with a long horizon open before you for a long career of usefulness to your native land, you will face many problems; but let me tell you that for the solution of those problems you have a safe guide, an unfailing light, if you will only remember that faith is better than doubt, and love is better than suspicion. Banish doubt and fear and let your aim and purpose, in good or ill, be so to live, so to strive, so to serve, as to do your part to raise ever higher the standard of life and living.

Today, I think of that great man whose life's purpose was to serve others. I refer, of course, to Mahatma Ghandi, who said, "Truth is like a vast tree. It yields more and more fruit the more you nurture it". Paraphrasing his words, I say that understanding is like a vast tree which yields more and more fruit the more we nurture it. Here, in this Conference, we are endeavouring to do that. I am among those who believe that while emphasis on scientific knowledge and achievement is of paramount importance in raising the standards of all mankind, we must not forget the things which contribute to the freedom of the mind. Materialism should not become a guiding star. We need engineers and scientists, but we also need those who study social behaviour. We need those who study the humanities. We, in Canada, are trying to do something along those lines. We accept large numbers of students from other countries. Of our total university enrolment of 95,000, we have approximately 6,000 from other countries in the Commonwealth, including many from India and the West Indies. I believe that while science can make its contribution, and must continue to make its contribution, the study of economics and sociology provide the means whereby we may raise the standards and understand each other better.

As I sit down, may I use some words that I first heard in India two years ago. These words are representative of the demands that life makes on every one of us. They are:

In thought, have faith; in words, have wisdom; in life, give service; in death, be courageous; so will India be great; so will all parts of the Commonwealth be great.



**Mr. Skoglund:** Mr. Chairman, at this stage of the afternoon, one or two minutes should be sufficient for me to reply. The last two or three speakers summed up fairly well what has gone on this afternoon. They pointed out that this was the most important subject considered today. It has been adequately proved by all speakers, particularly those from the underdeveloped countries, that we need technologists and technicians. But we in New Zealand feel that the greatest need of all is an educated mass of people. We believe that only by general education of the mass of the people in Australia and New Zealand have those two countries advanced so quickly over the last 100 years. I personally feel that we should do everything we possibly can to provide teachers to educate the masses of these other countries, so that from an educated mass will come the leaders and technologists of the future.

We in New Zealand supply all the European teachers for Fiji and Samoa. We send them to Indonesia. Lately, I have given permission for one of my senior technical men to go to Ceylon to take over trade education there. The rest of the countries of the Commonwealth that are able should do likewise, but in greater measure than can be done by a small country like New Zealand. I suggest that we go home from this Conference, thinking of means whereby we can help the underdeveloped countries to give education to the masses of people and so improve their way of life and the fortunes of their countries. That should adequately sum up what we have said today.

*The Conference then adjourned.*



## PARLIAMENTARY CONTROL OF STATUTORY BODIES

THE Sixth Session of the Conference was opened at 9.30 a.m. on Friday, 6th November, by Shri Krishnamoorthy Rao, M.P., Deputy Chairman of the Rajya Sabha (Council of States), India, and the subject under discussion was "Parliamentary Control of Statutory Bodies". The Chairman of the Council presided.

**Shri S. V. Krishnamoorthy Rao, M.P. (Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha, India):** Mr. Chairman, I am grateful to you for having given me this opportunity to initiate the debate on parliamentary control of statutory bodies. After the first world war there emerged the device of administration of matters of public concern not directly by government departments, but with the aid of corporations endowed with a legal personality. By this device of public corporations, undue increase in the work of government inherent in the extension of activities was prevented. These corporations have been variously described by writers as public corporations, national corporations, statutory corporations, statutory undertakings and public boards. A statutory corporation, board or commission is a body which has been set up under an Act of Parliament and is a body corporate with the name as defined in the relevant Act, having perpetual succession and a common seal with power, subject to the provisions of the Act under which it is set up, to acquire, hold and dispose of property both movable and immovable and to contract, and may be sued and may sue.

The first few of these corporations in India were set up for the improvement and development of the growing, marketing and manufacture of commodities such as cotton, lac, soft coke and oil seeds. The Indian Central Cotton Committee established under the Indian Cotton Cess Act, 1923, the Indian Lac Cess Committee established under the Indian Lac Cess Act, 1930, and the Soft Coke Cess Committee established under the Indian Soft Coke Cess Committee (Reorganization and Incorporation) Act, 1939, are good examples. Until 1947 India's economy was a colonial economy. Even before independence the Indian National Congress had appointed a planning committee with our Prime Minister as chairman. On attaining independence, India switched immediately to a planned economy. A mighty gigantic democratic planning is afoot. We have successfully gone through the first plan, the second closes by 1961, and we are planning for the third. Our object is a socialistic welfare state to make India self-sufficient, and to raise the living standards of our people, who comprise a population of 400 million scattered in India's 550,000 villages. A silent but steady democratic evolution is going on, as is evident from the figures I shall now give.

We have invested £A2,000 million in the first Five-year Plan; we have invested £A4,800 million in the second Five-year Plan; and we propose to invest £A10,000 million in the third Five-year Plan. Our power production during the course of these ten years has increased from 2.3 million to 6.9 million kilowatts, an increase of 300 per cent. The irrigated areas have increased from 51 million to 88 million acres, an increase of 60 per cent. Iron ore production has increased from 3 million to 12½ million tons, an increase of 400 per cent. Coal lifting has increased from 32.3 million to 60 million tons, an increase of 100 per cent. Steel has increased from 1.1 million to 4.3 million tons, and cement from 2.7 million to 13 million tons, an increase of 500 per cent. Textile production is doubled. The production of nitrogenous fertilizers has increased by thirty times and of phosphatic fertilizers by fifteen times.

In post-independence India, government control has become necessary not only because it is a large and new democracy but also because of its industrial and economic implications. The resources, the expert knowledge and the authority vest anywhere except in the national Government. Large undertakings such as our heavy industries and other pioneering projects require foreign assistance and expert technical knowledge, which we feel can be secured and mobilized on favourable, politically advisable and economically desirable terms only by the State. The formulation of a series of plans for the country's economic development and the adoption by our Parliament of the country's industrial policy resolutions in 1948 and 1956 have led to a considerable expansion of the public sector. Still, a very large section is left for private enterprise. In organizing the public sector, the Government has resorted not only to the statutory device but has also made use of the Indian Companies Act.

Since 1947, corporations have been established not only for the improvement and development of commodities but also for medium and long-term credit to industrial



concerns, development of multi-purpose river valley projects, nationalization of the production and supply of electricity, employees' insurance, and for nationalization of road transport, civil aviation, and so on. India has today fifty-four corporations, of which forty-nine are managed entirely by the Union Government and five by State and Union enterprises. This does not include undertakings such as railways and broadcasting, nor State undertakings. Mr. Herbert Morrison, when Minister of Transport, United Kingdom, spoke about the entry of the Government into the business field and said that it should combine public ownership, public accountability and business management for public ends.

The problem to which the existence of a public corporation gives rise is to combine the greatest efficiency with adequate public control. Ultimate parliamentary sovereignty is not in doubt; powers granted to a public body by statute or royal charter can always be revoked. But Parliament is unlikely to rest content with the role of an ultimate sovereign, if it is to have no effective control over the degree of efficiency achieved by a public body. Mr. Ernest Davies has said:

The principle must never be surrendered, but the final arbiter between the public corporation, the Minister, and the community is Parliament. Through its democratically elected representatives, the community reserves final control over the public corporation. The public corporation was evolved in order that the operation of publicly owned industries should not be subject to close treasury control, bureaucratic management and parliamentary interference. These it escapes; but control over broad matters of general policy the Parliament retains. It should preserve its right through parliamentary questioning of the Ministers responsible and by debate on appropriate occasions.

In India, Parliament exercises both direct and indirect control over statutory corporations. Direct control means the control exercised by Parliament itself or its committees. Indirect control is exercised through a Minister responsible to Parliament and is more effective than the control directly exercised by Parliament. Direct control is exercised by the Parliament by questions put by Members of the Parliament, debates, discussions and examination of estimates and expenditure by the committees of the Parliament. Members of Parliament have a right to ask questions of a Minister to elicit information about the administration of the department under his charge. The rules of both Houses of Parliament contain such provisions as this:

This House should make it a point, as far as possible, not to interfere with the autonomy of such authorities, and questions will be justified only if there is something very exceptional to be urged or to be known.

This question has been debated in the Indian Parliament on several occasions. The first time it arose was in 1953 in the Rajya Sabha. Later on it came up in the Lok Sabha also, and a resolution was moved by one of the Members. It has been debated also through a private Bill in the Lok Sabha. The Conference of Presiding Officers has been considering the question annually. Finally in 1958 the Prime Minister, in a letter to the Speaker, raised the general issue regarding the admissibility of questions relating to private limited companies which are State-owned. The Prime Minister, in his letter, said:

Normally I have no objection to answering any questions where an answer can be given without injury to the public interest. But if we are to answer questions about the day-to-day administration of autonomous corporations, then such corporations are put on exactly the same level as a Government department. I believe that the accepted pattern in the United Kingdom is for the Minister concerned not to accept or reply to questions in Parliament regarding autonomous corporations, unless such questions relate to matters of general Government policy, on the ground that this infringes the autonomy of the corporation.

Later on, this matter came to the point of decision by the Speaker. His ruling was as follows:

The Minister may inform the Speaker that a question is inadmissible on the following grounds: First, that it does not come within his responsibility as provided either by statute or by convention; and secondly, that the question relates



to day-to-day administrative detail on which information is not normally furnished to the Ministry.

The decision of the Speaker shall be final in the matter of questions. The Speaker may admit questions relating even to administrative detail where he considers that matters of principle or of public importance are involved. A matter of detail may assume such proportions as to call for Parliament's attention and even a review by it.

Lok Sabha cannot divest itself of its responsibility to the people with regard to control over expenditure from the Consolidated Fund by creating corporations and refusing to look into their affairs by purposely excluding the affairs of such corporations from its jurisdiction. I am afraid that such exclusion is opposed to the principles of parliamentary democracy.

It was also impressed upon the Ministries that the boards of management of these corporations and companies might be directed to give information to Members directly. Instructions were issued by the Government of India to various corporations and limited companies in which the Central Government has financial or controlling interest for supply of information direct to Members in response to their inquiries. The instructions stated, *inter alia*:

The Government of India considers that it would be advisable for arrangements to be made for Members of Parliament who are specially interested in the subject to get information of a type which could be elicited by unstarred questions, but which is not of sufficient general importance and interest to occupy the time of Parliament. Information relating to the nature and capacities of plant units, products and raw materials, sales and prices, ancillary activities which spring from the project and transport facilities fall within this category. Similarly, the nature of educational, health and other amenities provided or available and even details regarding these matters may have a limited interest. On these matters information desired by Members of Parliament specially interested in the subject can be made available direct, without impinging upon the obligation of the managing director or general manager not to divulge information of a confidential character.

It has, therefore, been decided that on request from individual Members of Parliament, managing directors or general managers may furnish factual information of this character direct to Members of Parliament. Questions relating to matters of policy or opinion will, as before, be dealt with only by the Minister. If any doubt arises on the terms of this letter, or if it is felt that it relates to a matter which is of a confidential nature or that the information cannot be readily supplied without spending too much time in collecting it, a reference should be immediately made to the administrative Ministry concerned for guidance. There will sometimes arise cases when the information asked for by a Member of Parliament is not readily available in exactly the same form as asked for. In such cases, managements will, no doubt, do their best to meet the wishes of the Member by supplying information which approximates as closely as may be feasible to that desire.

In addition to the practice of asking questions, Members of Parliament in India may also initiate discussion on public statutory bodies when they are discussing the Address of the President and also during discussions on the Budget. On 29th March, 1955, for example, the losses on airlines corporations were discussed in the Indian Parliament.

Annual reports of corporations are placed on the tables of both Houses, and this occasion also has been used to bring up discussions on public statutory bodies. Statutes creating public corporations generally provide for the submission of annual reports to the legislature on the exercise and performance of its functions and on its policy and programme.

Parliament exercises considerable control over statutory corporations through the Public Accounts Committee and the Estimates Committee, which act as watchdogs on



the use of public funds. The Public Accounts Committee examines the accounts of Corporations, and in its report for 1950-51 the Committee said:

During the examination of the accounts, we raised the question of the scope of audit control to be exercised by the Comptroller and Auditor-General over the accounts of the two corporations set up by the Ministry of Finance, viz. the Rehabilitation Finance Administration and the Industrial Finance Corporation. Although the provisions made for their day-to-day audit appeared to be satisfactory, we suggest that in order to enable the Comptroller and Auditor-General to bring to the notice of Parliament certain important matters relating to their working, he should be empowered to conduct a test-audit of their accounts. . . . We share the views held by the Comptroller and Auditor-General that his functions and responsibilities should be defined in explicit terms in the statute itself providing for the setting up of a corporation. We would also recommend that before statutory corporations involving financial commitments by Government are created, the Comptroller and Auditor-General should be consulted in regard to the provisions for accounting and audit control. In this connexion we also attach considerable importance to the necessity of safeguarding against any whittling away of Parliamentary control by the participation of Government in private companies.

The Indian Committee on Estimates possesses wider powers than its English counterpart. The English Committee is debarred from matters of policy, but in India the Committee can suggest alternative policies with a view to ensuring efficiency and economy in administration. The Estimates Committee has examined nineteen corporations and made fifteen reports. In fact Professor Hart has said that the Committee's inquiries into the Damodar Valley and Hirakud projects were "surprisingly constructive". A watch is kept and action taken to pursue the recommendations and see that they are observed and not treated lightly by the Government and public corporations. The Committee has done valuable work in the matter of the examination of estimates. The Estimates Committee has also set up a sub-committee to deal entirely with the working of the public corporations in India.

Members of Parliament get many other opportunities to debate matters relating to statutory corporations. The rules of both Houses contain a provision that

A Member may, with the previous permission of the Speaker, call the attention of a Minister to any matter of urgent public importance, and the Minister may make a brief statement or ask for time to make a statement at a later hour or date.

This rule has very often been used by the Members to draw the attention of the Minister to the matters relating to statutory bodies. On 28th March, 1957, Shri Feroz Gandhi under this rule called the attention of the Minister of Finance to "the position of the policy holders in insurance companies which were found to be financially unsound and the action that the insurance corporation proposes to take in respect of such insurance policies".

Rule 193 of the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in Lok Sabha authorizes Members to raise "discussion on a matter of urgent public importance". This rule also is freely used to permit discussion of the working of public corporations. In 1958 a private Member also brought down a Bill called "The Public Financed Industries Control Board Bill" and a resolution was submitted and adopted in the Lok Sabha to give direct control.

Commenting upon the parliamentary control of public corporations during the pre-war period in the United Kingdom, Mr. Ernest Davies observes that "absence of limitation of ministerial control over the pre-war public corporations limited parliamentary control. Since the Minister was deprived of power, he could deny responsibility, and in replying to questions was apt to use evasive formulae". At page 79 he further observes that "The accepted theory that the public corporation's accountability to Parliament assures control over its activities does not always work out in practice. Whether it does or does not depends both on the vigilance of Members of Parliament and on the extent of ministerial responsibility. As long as the latter is restricted, so



will be Parliament's right of question and debate". A perusal of the statutes establishing public corporations in India reveals that wide powers have been given to the Ministers.

The Government exercises control over corporations through its power of appointment of the members of the governing body, of making rules and regulations, of giving directions, and ordering inquiries. The Government exercises considerable control in the matter of appointment of the members and the chairman or president of the corporations. The Damodar Valley Corporation Act, 1948, vested in the Central Government the power to appoint the chairman and the members of the Corporation. Some statutes not only vest the power of appointment in the Government but also leave the question of the size of the governing body to its discretion. Section 4 (1) of the Life Insurance Corporation Act, 1956, provides that "The Corporation shall consist of such number of persons not exceeding fifteen as the Central Government may think fit to appoint thereto and one of them shall be appointed by the Central Government to be the chairman thereof".

The chairmen of almost all the corporations are appointed by the Government. Some of the statutes expressly confer on the Government the power to remove members of corporations. Section 11 (1) of the Reserve Bank Act, 1934, empowers the Central Government to remove the Governor, the Deputy Governor, directors and also members of the local boards. There is also a power taken under some of these Acts to remove, after consultation with the Reserve Bank, the chairman, vice-chairman and any director nominated by them.

An interesting feature of the Indian public corporations is the power of the Government to dissolve the corporations. The Central Government can dissolve the committees and also provide that on declaration all funds and other property vested in the committee shall vest in the Central Government. Of the development corporations, only in the case of the National Co-operative Development and Warehousing Board and the River Board has power of dissolution been given to the Government. Section 50 of the Agricultural Produce (Development and Warehousing) Corporations Act, 1956, and Section 27 of the River Board Act, 1956, provide that when the Central Government is of opinion that the board has failed to carry out its function or that for any other reason it is not necessary to continue it, it may dissolve the board from a date specified in the notification.

With a view to maintaining coherence between the policy of the Government and its implementation by the corporations, specific power to give directions has been given to the Government. Some statutes, along with the power of giving directions, also confer on the Government powers to issue directions in regard to specific matters. Section 34 (2) of the Air Corporations Act provides:

The Central Government may, if it is of opinion that it is expedient in the national interest so to do, after consultation with the corporation concerned, direct either of the corporations:

- (a) to undertake any air transport service or other activity which the Corporation has power to undertake;
- (b) to discontinue or make any change in any scheduled air transport service or other activity which it is operating or carrying on;
- (c) not to undertake any activity which it proposes to do.

Sometimes statutes creating public corporations provide that directions given by the Government must relate to questions of policy. The Industrial Finance Corporation, the State Financial Corporations and the Damodar Valley Corporation are required to be guided by the instructions issued by the Governments on questions of policy. The Government is the final authority to decide whether a question is or is not a question of policy. Failure on the part of the corporation to carry out the Government's instructions may result in the supersession of the board of directors in the case of the Industrial Finance Corporation and the State Financial Corporations and removal of the chairman and the members in the case of the Damodar Valley Corporation. It has been provided in the statutes that the decision of the Government as to grounds for the supersession of the board of directors cannot be questioned in a



court of law. The Government also has a financial control over these corporations. In a large number of corporations the capital stock is provided by the Government. Control by the Government exists also in the case of borrowing by corporations. They can borrow money with the previous sanction and consent of the Government only. Sometimes the expenditure is also controlled by the Government.

The Government also has rule-making powers. Almost all the statutes establishing corporations confer on the Government this power. The Government also exercises control over certain statutory bodies by its power to order inquiries. These are the methods by which the Parliament in India is exercising control over statutory bodies. However, insistence on the establishment of a parliamentary committee is growing. There has been some proposal to establish a central planning authority for public enterprises—I am afraid this may become a super-body. There is also a proposal for establishing advisory boards, but without power advisory boards may be superfluous. Audits must be carried out according to a pattern which should be incorporated in the general law governing state-owned companies and approved by Parliament. Such audit firms can be drawn from an approved panel. The Auditor-General has responsibilities in regard to the expenditure of public moneys. He cannot and should not absolve himself of those responsibilities.

Balance sheets should accord with the well-laid-down standards of business administration. There has also been a proposal that the public be permitted to participate in the capital, up to 25 per cent., with a ceiling on individual participation and a part reserved for workers so that they can be given a share. There is also a proposal that government concerns should enjoy no special privileges as regards taxation. There is likewise a proposal that a committee of Parliament should be established to watch over public corporations and a proposal for a separate debate for a fixed number of days in Parliament on public statutory bodies.

These are some measures which have been suggested for exercising better parliamentary control over statutory bodies. The knowledge in the public mind, more so in the minds of those immediately concerned, that Parliament is zealous on the standard of public conduct, which includes industrial and business conduct, and that any serious breaches would attract parliamentary attention, is at once a wholesome corrective and an inspiration. A well-informed Parliament would choose to interfere as little as possible in the day-to-day undertakings of the corporation. There is no doubt that public corporations will play a dominant role in the economic development of a country, but more so in an underdeveloped country like India. It is a *via media* between *laissez-faire* economy and the economy of a monolithic state dictatorship. We are always ready to learn from the experience of other countries.

**Rt. Hon. Alfred Robens, M.P. (United Kingdom):** Mr. Chairman, I am sure we are all very much obliged to Shri Krishnamoorthy Rao for the very detailed explanation he has given of the system of the public accountability policy as it exists in India. At the same time I was very interested in his account of the way in which publicly owned enterprises are, in fact, fitting into the planned economy of India that was instituted about 1947. It certainly is not part of my task this morning to argue the merits or demerits of public ownership as against private enterprise. Certainly I do not believe that there is anybody today in any political party who would subscribe to the view that industry in any nation should be run entirely on the basis of nineteenth-century capitalism. Equally, I myself, as a socialist and a member of the British Labour Party, do not regard public ownership of everything as the panacea for all our social and economic evils. I believe there is a balance. I believe that the dictum, laid down that those who believe in public ownership must justify their belief by argument, is right. I believe, therefore, that we should look at public ownership and the degree of control of private enterprise or the complete freedom of private enterprise on the basis of what is best in the public interest of the nation as a whole. Therefore, I proceed no further with that trend of thought that came to my mind as Shri Krishnamoorthy Rao was good enough to explain to us the very large number of public corporations in India and the way in which they have fitted public ownership within the economic planning arrangements.



I want to come immediately to the subject of our review and discussion this morning, that is, public accountability, and in the few moments that are given to me I would like to indicate just what we have been trying to do in the United Kingdom. I am bound to say that we have arrived at the present position of public accountability in the United Kingdom only after a good deal of experimentation. None of us in the House of Commons would say for one moment that we had reached the end of experimentation in this field or that we had, in fact, now produced a really ideal form of public accountability. We are always striving to improve public accountability, and I have no doubt that in the years that lie ahead, as we gain by our experience in connexion with our publicly owned enterprises, we shall probably evolve an even better system than we have at the present time.

There are two broad types of publicly owned enterprises. There is the government department—if you like, an extension of the post office counter—and then there is the public corporation, in which a public corporation is established and the assets vested in a corporate body. There is no problem about public accountability in the case of a government department. If we take the Post Office as an example, which I think every country in the world has as a piece of publicly owned enterprise, it is quite clear that the Postmaster-General or the Minister, who is responsible for the Post Office, must be responsible in Parliament for every single thing that happens in the Post Office. This could, of course, become quite ridiculous if Members of Parliament really did not confine themselves to matters that were of real interest and made a contribution to the efficient running of the Post Office, or drew public attention to some misgivings they may have about the efficiency in certain directions of the Post Office.

It is, however, perfectly open for any Member of Parliament to ask any sort of question, even as to why the painting of a particular post office has been done red instead of blue. That they do not ask such questions is merely an indication of the high intelligence of Members of Parliament. Nevertheless, they have that right. Therefore, with a government department there is complete public accountability, and we need not spend any more time, I think, in dealing with the authorities or State departments which are concerned with the direction and management of public enterprises.

I think we are really mainly concerned this morning with the corporate body in which assets have been vested by the State. Here, I think there is a real problem. First of all, I pay high regard to the importance of a public corporation being able to carry on its day-to-day administration without interference from politicians. I believe it would be a very bad day indeed in any country, if the public corporations were to be subjected to parliamentary questions on day-to-day administration. All sorts of nepotism could arise if, in fact, it were permitted for Members of Parliament to deal, for example, with the hiring and firing of the staff of a public corporation. What we must try to achieve within the public corporation is the maximum efficiency we can possibly get with, of course, the highest integrity in relation to management and its operations. Indeed, if I might say so, the public corporation ought to set an example in efficiency, wise management, and integrity. It should set an example in the way in which it does its task and carries out its duties. It should set an example in relation to the social responsibilities which any large employer of labour should accept in any country, whether the undertaking is publicly owned or privately owned.

I do not believe, therefore, that if you have once appointed a board and given it statutory responsibility to carry out a certain task, it is fair to the board to permit Members of Parliament to interfere in its day-to-day administration. It is perfectly clear that there may be some argument as to what is day-to-day administration and what are matters of general policy. These are matters that in all responsible countries we must discover for ourselves. For myself, I would want to keep as far away as possible from any of the internal managerial arrangements within public corporations. All I would want, from the point of view of Parliament and Parliamentarians, would be to ensure that their broad policies were, in fact, devoted—apart from their efficiency in management—to making certain that all their operations were in the public interest. Because, in the main, their capital is provided by fixed investments, they have no shareholding interest to serve, except that the interest payable on the amount loaned



is, in fact, provided for in the returns in their accounts. Therefore, the fact that it has no shareholders' dividends to provide for seems to me to enable the public corporation to concentrate the whole of its attention on its efficiency and on the improvements that it can make to the service it provides or to the work in which it is engaged.

Therefore, we begin our corporate bodies by a statute which enables the Minister who is nominally responsible for the corporation to appoint a board. In the statutes in my own country we lay down the very broad qualifications for such individuals. We say that the Minister may choose people, as members of the board of the corporation, who are qualified by having experience of, and having shown capacity in, industrial, financial and commercial matters, or in applied science, administration and the organization of workers. I am bound to tell you that the phrase, "organization of workers", really means people who have had large experience in trade union organization. The Minister having appointed people from those categories, which give him a very wide choice, he must, of course, then be responsible in Parliament for his appointments. It would be perfectly open to any Member of Parliament to challenge the appointment of a single individual at the time of appointment on the grounds of his unsuitability for the position. Whilst that is obviously a right that Parliamentarians must always have, because it is their right to question a Minister on his ministerial actions, in my experience we have never, in our House, had the necessity to question appointments. If I may be a little presumptuous and offer advice, I should say that it would be better, too, if it were found not necessary to question such appointments in public, because if that were done it would really mean that you would have to deal in public, in great detail, with the merits and demerits of individuals, which could be invidious. It might well be that things would be said which would prevent the appointment of really good people merely because someone else had a grudge or grievance against them.

The right, however, must remain. In my view, the fact that Parliamentarians have the right to question the appointment of individuals is a check against the Minister appointing an individual who was obviously unworthy of the post to which it was proposed to appoint him. My own view—again for what it is worth; I myself would certainly behave in this way—is that if I saw that a Minister had appointed a Mr. X to a certain position and I happened to know that Mr. X, in his business life or otherwise, was not really as competent as the Minister thought, I think I would have a private talk with the Minister rather than raise the matter in the House. Nevertheless, the right exists, and that is a bit of our public accountability which must be preserved.

The Minister, too, must have the right to discuss with the chairmen of boards, and probably also the members of boards, the particular policies that are going to be pursued, not in regard to the day-to-day administration, but to the broad policies, particularly in relation to the investment programme for a given period. That is particularly so, I think, in relation to scientific research and things of that kind, which have a reflex action upon government policy itself. These conversations, I believe, are useful, and a good deal of public accountability can be achieved by the Minister through the maintenance of close relations with the chairmen and other members of boards. They can thus know one another's minds and the boards can see the direction of government policy. Provided they believe it to be the right thing to do from a business point of view, the boards can, in fact, adjust their own arrangements to conform broadly with the way that the Government see things in the public interest.

There will arise, undoubtedly, from time to time, a decision on government policy which will conflict with the normal business organization of a public corporation. It may well be that a Government would want, in time of slump or depression, a very substantial increase in the investment programme of a public corporation—in order to aid the solution of the unemployment problem. Under these circumstances, the normal business instinct of the chairman and the board might not necessarily be to invest such large sums. Indeed, they might feel that it was better to invest their largest sums at what they considered to be the bottom of the slump, when prices were lower, rather than half-way down, before prices had reached rock-bottom. It seems to me that you would have a conflict between the board, whose business acumen would lead it to say, "No, these investments of several millions ought to be delayed a little



longer", and the Government, which might say, "We are obviously moving into a slump. It is important now that we should step up investment in the public sector in order to bring employment once again back into something like proper perspective".

In such circumstances there would be a genuine clash. It need not be an unfriendly clash. It is merely a question of the public interest—the social responsibilities of the Minister *vis-à-vis* the corporation—and the business acumen of the corporation, which could not conscientiously feel that it could embark on a specific investment programme which would be more costly than it would be if left for a further period of time. It seems to me in those circumstances that if the Government decides that it is in the public interest that the investment should be made, the Minister should not compel, in secret, the public corporation to make the investment, but should use the powers of direction which under the British law he possesses. The law provides that the Minister may, after consultation with the board, give to the board directions of a general character as to the exercise and performance by the board of their functions in relation to matters appearing to the Minister to affect the national interest and the board shall give effect to any such directions.

This direction then appears in the Annual Report of the publicly owned enterprise and could be debated when the Annual Report and Accounts are being examined in Parliament, or being a ministerial decision, it could be discussed at the time the direction is issued. There has been a noticeable reluctance in the United Kingdom to give directions to boards. Rather Ministers have had protracted exchanges of views and boards have finally made decisions themselves after taking into careful consideration the views expressed by Ministers. I personally take the view that Ministers should not be afraid nor boards reluctant to receive directions which the Government have decided are in the public interest. It is the function of the boards to operate commercially, and, taking one year with another, balance their accounts. It is for the Minister, after consultation with the board, to issue a directive if what he deems to be in the public interest is contrary to commercial practice. There should be no feeling of "loss of face" in this matter. It is right that the nationalized industries should be used as one of the means of economic planning, and if undue commercial burdens are placed upon a nationalized industry, because in the long run this is in the best interests of the nation as a whole, then this departure from commercial practice should be shown, and the public thus made aware of the circumstances. The fact that the public are thus brought sharply up against some of the economic facts of life should indeed be welcomed. Many concrete examples of this could easily be given, but I must pass quickly on to other forms of public accountability.

One of the most important is of course the use of Questions in the House. The Minister must answer Questions on matters for which he has ministerial responsibility, and the skilful Parliamentarian who has taken the trouble to discover on what matters of policy the statute provides ministerial responsibility will find ample opportunity of putting Questions in the House, which cannot be refused on the grounds of day-to-day administration. For example, amongst other things, the Minister of Power in the United Kingdom is directed by the statute nationalizing the coal industry to "approve the programmes of reorganization or development involving substantial outlay on capital account and also exercise oversight on the functions of the board in relation to training, education and research". Even if the Minister has taken no action whatsoever and perhaps has no intention of doing so, a Member of Parliament could ask "Whether the Minister of Power under the powers invested in him under the Act proposes to give a general direction on the matters for which he has ministerial authority in relation to a particular matter".

What must be avoided are detailed matters of purely day-to-day administration. Broad policy issues can therefore be generally given in airing in the House of Commons almost every day. Then advantage can be taken of the daily Adjournment Motion. As is well known, the United Kingdom Parliament has set aside on every sitting day half an hour for what is known as the Debate on the Adjournment. No subject is barred, except that it cannot be used for suggesting legislation. This therefore provides admirable opportunity for focusing the searchlight of public opinion on some aspect of the work of the nationalized industry. I have been surprised that so little use of



this means of providing public accountability is utilized in the British Parliament. But many more means are available to the British M.P. The Government provide each year three days upon which the Annual Reports of Nationalized Industries are debated. In addition, the Opposition can, and often do, provide one or more of their Supply days for this purpose.

The Member of Parliament is always able to raise with the chairmen of the boards of nationalized industries by letter any matter upon which he wants information. The discretion as to how much information is disclosed in reply lies, of course, with the respective chairmen. There has, however, grown up a practice by which chairmen are, in fact, quite forthcoming and frank with Members of Parliament. I have myself never heard any complaint from a Member that he has been refused any explanation or information. When Lord Hurcombe was Chairman of the Transport Commission he indicated that he answered 1,700 letters during 1952.

Additionally the Speech from the Throne provides an opportunity to any Member to deal with the operation of the nationalized industries.

Perhaps it would be as well to mention at this point that consumers, too, have a measure of public accountability in their hands. In Britain, in all the nationalized industries, consumer councils were established giving the right to every consumer, should his grievances not be remedied at management level, to ventilate them and have the protection of the consumers' council. Whilst the consumers' council cannot be said to be greatly utilized by individuals requiring grievances to be remedied, in my view the fact that they are there, so to speak, as the watchdog of the consumer, certainly makes the boards very sensitive about their consumer relations and service.

Many of us in the United Kingdom were acutely conscious that, having established state-owned monopolies, they had of necessity not only to ensure that consumers were protected against the possibility of the worst feature of monopoly, but also be satisfied that the administration was neither overloaded nor inefficient. A number of possibilities were examined as to how this could be most effectively accomplished. One most rewarding method was the setting up of an independent outside committee to examine the structure and administration and report. The latest innovation in the continued search to ensure greater accountability to Parliament of the publicly owned enterprises is the setting up of a Select Committee on nationalized industries. This has examined in detail the work of the various boards and its reports have subsequently been debated in Parliament. This has been well worth while and so successful that the committee has been set up each Session since.

These, then, are some of the methods by which we in the United Kingdom Parliament have endeavoured to secure a greater degree of public accountability for our nationalized industries. We do not say that we have reached perfection in this matter. The search goes on for improved methods, and I am sure that this debate will prove very useful to all those who are seeking ways and means of securing a greater degree of public accountability without wishing to hamstring the day-to-day administrative details of the board.

**Mr. Leon D. Crestohl, Q.C., M.P. (Canada):** Mr. Chairman, I am very pleased to participate in the discussion of a problem which, as Parliamentarians, I believe, commands our serious attention. But, since this is a subject about which opinions and procedure may differ, I do so with the caveat that these are purely personal views and do not reflect any official opinions of our Delegation, or of the country or provinces from which I come.

Representing Commonwealth countries as we do, there are many problems which are common to our various legislatures, but some seem to attract greater concern than others. I, for example, consider the encroachment on parliamentary rights, powers, and duties by statutory bodies a subject that requires thoughtful consideration and, if possible, some serious attention.

The growth and powers of statutory bodies began to evoke much discussion in the last century, and to a more acute proportion since the turn of the present century. Time unfortunately does not permit me to trace, even in thumb-nail fashion, the rise



of these quasi-judicial organs of government, but in order to illustrate the possible development of statutory bodies to a degree that makes it difficult to control them, I desire to refer to a case in point which arose right here in Australia, where, in the case of *Shell Oil Co. of Australia v. Federal Commissioner of Taxation* in 1931, the question arose whether a Board of Review, set up in 1925 under the Commonwealth income tax legislation, was a court exercising the judicial power of the Commonwealth and therefore had the power to determine the limitations concerning the tenure of office of the Board's members without the necessity of having to renew its tenure by Parliament.

The Privy Council, strangely enough, upheld this view, citing another Australian case, *Huddart, Parker & Co. v. Moorehead*, as illustrative of the power which every sovereign authority must have, i.e. judicial power. This led to some thinking that the old procedures, morally as well as judicially, were simply not sufficient to cope with the new needs of our ever-expanding and complex society. New standards to meet the new conditions had to be established and improved. It was then thought that the ordinary courts of law, constituted as they were for determining a dispute in which each party claims something definite, rather than for deciding claims where a standard of service or compliance has to be determined and enforced, were believed to be inadequate to gratify the increasing needs of our society and therefore statutory bodies, many with administrative tribunals, began to be set up.

With the passage of time there seems to be, however, a growing danger that the pendulum is swinging the other way, and that the situation is fast approaching what Lord Hewart, a former Chief Justice of England, calls "the new despotism", which tends to place statutory bodies and government departments and, indeed, some government officials, above the sovereignty of Parliament itself and beyond the jurisdiction of the courts. It is to this growing invasion of Parliament's power and right that we should address ourselves.

Let us now look at one or two realistic examples which I consider as being classic illustrations to prove that, as Parliamentarians, we should rebel against any clause in a proposed statute which tends to give final, decisive and extreme power to any administrative body created by that statute.

The first of these examples is emphasized by the language itself in a section of the statute establishing a Labour Relations Board by one of the Parliaments within the Commonwealth. This is how the section reads:

Notwithstanding any Legislative Provision inconsistent herewith, (a) the decisions of the Board shall be without appeal and cannot be revised by the courts; (b) no writ of *quo warranto*, of *mandamus*, of *certiorari*, or prohibition or injunction, may be issued against the Board, or against any of its members acting in their official capacity; (c) the provisions of Article 50 of the Code of Civil Procedure shall not apply to the Board or any of its members.

Just observe the extreme caution being taken to make certain that no relief whatsoever is available from any decision which this Board or any of its members may make. Its finality is almost death-like, by the exclusion of article 50, which is the basic provision in the law of that State, permitting a review of decisions of all statutory administrative bodies.

Everyone, persons or corporation, within the State, is bound by the normal and elementary operation of law, but not this statutory body, which Parliamentarians themselves have placed beyond the pale of all law. To me, and I imagine to every other person concerned with the administration of justice and the safeguarding of the basic British right that "everyone is entitled to have his day in court", such provisions in any statute are very disturbing. This is all the more emphasized by the fact that the commissioners or members of boards created by statute are frequently without legal knowledge or training, and, at times, not even familiar with the basic vocational, trade, commercial or scientific problems which such a statutory body may be called upon to deal with.

Another illustration which again emphasizes the poignancy of the problem is to



be found in another statute of a Commonwealth Parliament setting up an alcoholic liquor act. This is how the restrictive section reads:

1. No writ of quo warranto may be granted with respect to the office held, or any power exercised, by the Commission or by the Manager thereof.
2. No writ of mandamus may be issued to order the Commission or the Manager thereto to discharge any duty or do any act.
3. No writ of injunction may be granted to prevent, either temporarily or permanently, the Commission, or the Manager thereof, from doing anything or carrying out any operation.
4. No writ of certiorari may be granted to evoke any action or proceeding instituted under this Act.
5. No writ of Prohibition may be issued with respect to anything done or proposed to be done under this Act.

Finally, as a cover-all, I draw your attention to the concluding sections:

6. There may be no appeal from any judgment rendered in any prosecution or action instituted under this Act, except: excess of jurisdiction. . . .

I again draw our colleagues' attention to the extremely meticulous way in which this section has been worded, as in the previous statute, to make absolutely certain that any modicum of relief is completely excluded and made virtually impossible. It is almost difficult to believe that Parliamentarians such as you and I would grant such powers to a statutory body. In some cases, we have built Frankenstein monsters, and it is not surprising that we now have to study how to control them. There are countless other examples that each one of us can cite from our own Parliaments—many of them even much more distressing to our sense of justice than are the two I have mentioned.

Many of us, no doubt, have encountered the following situation. Statutes are introduced in the form of skeleton legislation, authorizing the creation of a Crown corporation or what we now call a statutory body. The most important part of the statute is the section granting to the Minister, or to the Governor-in-Council, or to the board itself, power to make regulations for its conduct and effectively to put the legislation into operation. It is to statutory bodies set up in this way, I feel, that we, as Parliamentarians, have not given the consideration that we should have given by first examining the regulations and approving them. By not doing so, we have, by an act of omission, yielded a control which belongs to Parliament.

It is my feeling that, if we do not resist this encroachment, the country only gets very little better than the legislation conceived and enacted by the ingenuity of a bureaucratic system. The resultant evils are many. Time prevents me from giving details. It will suffice for me to mention only a few which can result from this administrative lawlessness, as it is referred to by writers on the subject. The policy of secrecy and the lack of publicity in administrative proceedings by statutory and similar bodies are the first glaring evil. The air of mystery and secrecy shrouding the deliberations of these bodies should be dispelled, and it should be made possible for all proceedings, evidence and decisions to be brought before the court and made public. We must eliminate Star Chamber proceedings, if a democracy is to live.

A second evil which should be remedied is the inefficient and illegal quality of the investigation into questions of fact and law. Statutory administrative bodies often depend on unsupported and unsworn statements. That is dangerous to the rendering of proper justice. A third evil is that the judicial functions of statutory administrative bodies, increasing as they have done in recent years, frequently are discharged in a perfunctory manner by minor and not too knowledgeable officials, whose decisions are not appealable; this, too, can produce grave injustices which cannot be remedied.

One of the greatest evils which I consider to exist in statutory administrative bodies lies in the fact that they take the precaution to enshrine themselves in their authority with an aura of perfectionism, and support that by including in the legislation, which establishes them, a provision that "there shall be no recourse to any court of law to review, disturb, or interfere with any of their findings". Language such as this is, unfortunately, very often found in statutes establishing statutory bodies. When, in



addition, we realize the vast and loosely worded powers often conferred on these statutory bodies, the absence of any prescribed qualifications for their members, and the tendentious views known to be held by some of them, we can again see the urgency of the need to exercise an effective control over them.

In the final analysis, it is up to us Parliamentarians to improve the situation. First of all, Parliament can take a more active interest in the proceedings, and it should demand from the Ministers involved more information on the organization, composition, procedure and work of the statutory bodies they create. In the second place, we must be especially cautious and wary about granting to statutory bodies the right to make their own regulations. In the third place, we must provide, by appeal or other means, remedies against injustices. And finally, we should insist that all statutes which create Crown corporations and similar statutory bodies, limit their lives, so as to compel them to return to Parliament from time to time for a renewal of their authority and functions, at which time their activities can be reviewed and modified if necessary, for it is not to be forgotten that Parliament still enjoys that plenitude of power that can surely remedy the lack of an appropriate control over the mass of statutory bodies that exist today. In this and in similar ways, we can restore balance, justice and equity, not only between individual and individual, but also between individual and State. These, after all, form the cornerstone of the ideal of British parliamentary democracy which has been inherited by you in Australia, by us in Canada, and by all countries under the British Commonwealth of Nations.

**Senator the Hon. William H. Spooner, M.M. (Leader of the Senate, Vice-President of the Executive Council, and Minister for National Development, *Australian Commonwealth*):** Mr. Deputy Chairman and fellow Delegates, I have a fair amount of ground to cover in the time that is available, so I propose to come straight to the point and to abstain from the privilege of commenting upon the interesting contributions to the discussion that have been made by previous speakers.

In my portfolio, I have to administer five of these statutory bodies. Therefore, I thought that my best way of contributing to the discussion would be to try to give a bird's-eye picture of the Australian scene—of the statutory bodies that are in operation and of their association with the Parliament. First of all, you need to remember in this matter, as in almost every problem that arises in Australia, that we have seven Parliaments and that the Australian Constitution provides that the powers that are not specifically given to the Federal Parliament remain vested in the State Parliaments. As a result, the State Parliaments have very real and very large powers.

Most of the State Parliaments have themselves constituted statutory corporations. I illustrate the importance of the statutory corporations in the States by mentioning that most of the State Governments have established a corporation for the generation of electric power. The demand for power in Australia is increasing at the rate of 9 per cent. per annum and, therefore, those statutory corporations have the responsibility of finding something of the order of £A115 million each year in order to provide the additional plant that is needed. So I leave the State corporations on one side.

On my computation, there are about twenty Commonwealth corporations, plus a number of boards for the marketing of primary products. The Commonwealth statutory bodies range from the production of aluminium to broadcasting, to the National University, to shipping, to coal and to banking. To those who may be interested, I say that there is a complete list of the Commonwealth statutory bodies in the booklet which is available, entitled "Introduction to the Australian Federal Parliament". I thought it might be very interesting to give a quick thumbnail sketch of the activities of the statutory bodies within my portfolio in order to provide you with a background picture.

The Snowy Mountains Hydroelectric Authority, which is composed of a Commissioner and two associate Commissioners, is charged with the responsibility of developing the Snowy Mountains scheme, to provide hydroelectric power and water for irrigation. This is Australia's greatest developmental work. The total estimated cost of the scheme is £A380 million, of which £A135 million has been spent. The Authority employs a work force running to the order of from 5,000 to 6,000 people.



The second statutory body is the Australian Atomic Energy Commission, which has responsibility for research into the production and use of atomic power. We have an experimental reactor, which has cost us something of the order of £A7.5 million. These are two out of the five. The remaining three have the characteristic that they are statutory bodies operated in association with State Governments.

The Australian Aluminium Production Commission is an authority created by the Commonwealth Parliament for the production of aluminium, in which the Commonwealth is associated with the Tasmanian Government, and in which the two Governments have some £A11 million invested.

The next one—the Joint Coal Board—was created by legislation of the Commonwealth and the New South Wales Parliaments to control the production and distribution of coal in the State of New South Wales. It was created at a time when coal was in short supply. The Board developed open-cut and underground mines. The Board has since sold all its mining activities and, of course, the position has now changed. Instead of coal being in short supply, Australia is actively searching for export markets for its surplus coal production.

The River Murray Commission is constituted of four Governments, those of the Commonwealth, New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia. It controls Australia's greatest waterway, the River Murray. The River Murray basin embraces an area of some 414,000 square miles. The Commission is responsible for all works along the banks of the River Murray and for the equitable distribution, according to a formula, of the waters of the River Murray. One of the interesting points in its constitution is a provision that all decisions of the Commission must be unanimous decisions.

Against that background, I turn to the political control, or the political influence, of the statutory corporations—the statutory bodies—and I start by making the statement that I think it is correct to say that in recent years, at least, the control of statutory corporations has very seldom indeed been an issue in the Commonwealth Parliament. It was debated pretty energetically back in the 'twenties and the 'thirties. There has not been a crisis, or a clash, upon it during recent years. I express the view that that smoother working is due to the fact that there are now few obstacles to using parliamentary procedures under which information relating to the bodies, to the authorities, can be obtained and can be debated upon the floor of the Parliament.

Let me illustrate the opportunities that are available to place information before Parliament. The major opportunity is provided by means of the asking of Questions without notice and of Questions upon notice. This is a characteristic feature of the Australian Parliament. It is always possible, from the floor of Parliament, to move a Substantive Motion to discuss the affairs of a statutory authority. There is ample opportunity for debate during the Address-in-Reply debate, during consideration of the Estimates, on a censure Motion, or even upon the daily Motion for Adjournment. All rules and regulations made under legislation of the Australian Parliament are subject to disallowance by either House of the Parliament. Furthermore, each statutory authority is bound to make an annual report, which is tabled in Parliament, and it can be the subject of debate in Parliament. All statutory authorities need to have their accounts certified in Australia by the Auditor-General. All statutory authorities are subject to such investigation into their administration as may be made by the Public Accounts Committee, which is constituted by membership of all major parties in the Parliament. That, I think, is the first thing that arises as a result of my thinking upon this matter—that we have avoided troubles that have been experienced elsewhere, because there is such an ample opportunity for discussion on the floor of the Parliament.

The way I see the Australian scene is that, first of all, as other speakers have said, you look at it in terms of policy and administration. There is no reservation on the part of the Australian Parliament to discuss policy matters of the statutory bodies which, to a great extent indeed, are subject to influence by the responsible Minister. We have, I believe, by tradition or by usage, reached a reasonable set of arrangements in respect to detailed administration, in that Ministers do not normally shirk any political issue arising from their administration, and Members exercise restraint when



Ministers refrain from answering Questions, believing that the Ministers are doing the correct thing in protecting the day-to-day administration of the authority concerned. There are, however, opportunities for political clashes. When political clashes do occur, in my experience and in my opinion, Members of both sides of the House are keen to avoid making them personal attacks upon the members of the statutory bodies and upon the staff of the statutory bodies. They restrict their criticism to the policy level and to the Minister concerned.

These requests for detailed information are, of course, a debatable issue, but I think we have in Australia by usage reached a reasonable sort of formula in that the Ministers give pretty full and fair information and, when the Minister does not give full information upon a detailed transaction, the Member of Parliament respects the Minister's point of view and does not very often press the point further.

So I conclude on this note: I come to the five points of view about the Australian scene. The first is, I believe, that the supply of satisfactory information to Parliament in all the forms that are available—answers to Questions, etc.—has avoided a number of the difficulties that have been experienced elsewhere. Secondly, there is, at the least, ample opportunity for Parliament in Australia to debate the pretty wide range of information that is made available. Thirdly, most of the legislation, in the final analysis, although there is a great deal of autonomy vested in the statutory bodies, vests a good deal of authority in the responsible Minister, for which he is politically answerable on the floor of the Parliament. Fourthly, Parliament has shown itself more interested in the general policy that has been adopted by the authorities than in the individual transactions of the authorities, and it has used its forms and procedures to criticize general policy and has shown a good deal of restraint in the discussion of particular transactions.

I come to the final conclusion that, because of the information that is made available in Australia and because of the opportunities that are available under parliamentary procedures to debate that information, Parliament's influence on the activities of statutory bodies in Australia is a real and increasing influence. It may be strictly true that the statutory bodies and statutory authorities have autonomous power, but I hold the view that they are influenced in their deliberations by the parliamentary discussions that occur and that parliamentary influence is increasing, not decreasing.

**Hon. Josiah R. Hanan, M.P. (New Zealand):** Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates, there will be general agreement with the United Kingdom Delegate, the Rt. Hon. Alfred Robens, that the question of public versus private ownership is not involved. In the subject under discussion may I say, with respect, that that gentleman's clear exposition of the situation in the United Kingdom—their difficulties and how they are resolving them—will go on record as a valuable contribution to this Conference from which some of the older but, in particular, the newer democracies may derive much, having regard to the difficulties that they meet when they consider the question of parliamentary control of statutory bodies.

It is agreed everywhere that the statutory corporation, of which I believe the first was the State Savings Bank of Victoria, established in 1841, was originally brought in with the conception of combining the advantages of public ownership with the initiative, freedom and flexibility of progressive private enterprise. To what extent the objective has been achieved is a matter upon which there may well be controversy for all time. Suffice it to say that the results have varied from country to country. The variety of corporations is endless. Some were established with a large measure of independence and freedom from ministerial control. Others provided for close supervision and control at ministerial level.

Does a pattern emerge to indicate what degree of parliamentary control is desirable? I doubt it. Mr. Robens thought that the day-to-day operations should not be subjected to the spotlight of parliamentary criticism. In Canada a case was made out, I believe in 1951, for differing degrees of control of the various types of corporation. How has that worked? From the powerful and eloquent case presented to the Delegates



by my friend, Mr. Crestohl, I doubt whether they have found the final solution in Canada.

Some of the evils of a large degree of autonomy can be eliminated or minimized, I think, by a wider power of questioning. In New Zealand, the questions to Ministers are normally put in writing and have to be answered in writing, and a special day is set aside when the answers may be discussed. The field that can be covered, short of anticipated government policy, is extremely wide, and I think that that wide right of discussion by Members of Parliament has, to some extent, ensured the successful working of some of our comparatively independent corporations. We know of corporations with the greatest freedom on matters of paramount importance. Mr. Crestohl has quoted some. I can instance another one—the Tasmanian Hydroelectric Commission. Let me quote sub-section 2 of section 54 of the Tasmanian Hydroelectric Commission Act, 1944:

Notwithstanding anything contained in this Act, the Commission, in any case in which in its uncontrolled discretion it thinks fit so to do, may enter into a special contract with any person for the sale to him of electric energy at such charges and upon such terms and conditions in all respects as the Commission may think fit.

I understand that these special controls are kept secret. However unusual and however repugnant to the general concept of parliamentary democracy this may be, I must acknowledge freely that, in attracting great industries to Tasmania using large quantities of electric power, the Commission has achieved most spectacular success.

It has been said that the particular value of the statutory corporation is for public enterprises concerned mainly with trading or the production of goods, because of the freedom of operation, the flexibility, the business efficiency and the opportunity for experimentation. This may be an overstatement as well as an understatement. It may be an overstatement because it may exaggerate the extent to which a public corporation does, in fact, achieve efficiency. We must not overlook that very often it has not the spur of competition or even the keen interest of the ever-hopeful shareholder. It may be an understatement because it ignores the wide range of State activities outside the commercial field in which the public corporation has proved its usefulness. I think I can safely quote no better example than the British Broadcasting Corporation.

The view that the public corporation achieves managerial efficiency because of the relative freedom from ministerial control and parliamentary interference ignores the very important fact that the modern tendency is towards a limitation of the autonomy of all statutory bodies. That seems to be the case, reading what has been done in most countries in modern times. The tendency is to integrate the activities of the public corporation—and, we may say, very often the private corporation—more closely with governmental activities such as the controls concerning borrowing, accountancy methods, works programmes, and effective control over salary and wage scales. Happily, for instance, a measure of Australian control over university salaries has kept down to manageable limits the flow from New Zealand to Australia of our university graduates and professors. In New Zealand and Australia and, doubtless, to a great extent elsewhere, the public corporations cover a wide field of government. The tendency for limited autonomy follows the increasing responsibility of Governments for economic stability.

However, we must concede that there is an incessant tug-of-war between those who seek closer parliamentary supervision and those who attach such great importance to the principle of freedom from political control. Where the freedom from political control does exist, it seems that many criticize the lack of facilities to obtain information. They say that the customary methods of obtaining information—by Question, Motion and all the other methods—are not sufficient to smoke out the evil that they seek to disclose. An interesting study in the control of statutory bodies is afforded by the assumption of full financial responsibility by the Government of New Zealand for our public hospitals, the services of which are completely free to all citizens for essential treatment. Prior to 1957 the district hospitals boards, elected by local citizens, collected local rates, which were subsidized by the Government. Consequently, the



elected members of the boards had some responsibility, with respect to economy, to the local ratepayers. But the Government now pays the full cost and the Minister for Health is responsible to Parliament for the expenditure of all the moneys voted. While parliamentary supervision can therefore logically be without limitation, it is a fact that the day-to-day administration of our public hospitals is being successfully carried on by the elected members of the hospital boards, which remain unchanged as separate legal entities. There are no government appointees. The boards, of course, are subject to budgetary control, but despite the opportunity of Parliamentarians to question the day-to-day doings of the hospital boards, the fact remains that that is not generally done. The system seems to work out quite well in that instance.

It must be very unusual for the State to provide all the money for an essential service while another separate, elected, statutory body spends that money. Everyone must agree that the statutory bodies vary widely in their purposes and in their administrative structure. The ultimate responsibility, however, for the activities of all statutory bodies must remain with Parliament, if they are of a national character. The degree of freedom from political interference and the degree of flexibility and independence that should be granted, are matters for determination. Obviously the measure of freedom must vary with the type and purpose of the statutory body. Those bodies that have trading or commercial functions present the greatest difficulty, because they require the largest measure of managerial independence. Nevertheless, a way may have been found. We must confess that the younger democracies, of which New Zealand is one, are pleased to claim that in many ways they have led the way in parliamentary reform. But let me concede that in the difficult field of control of statutory bodies we have had to go back to the Mother of Parliaments for the likely solution, a solution that is so typical of the Anglo-Saxon genius for compromise.

The United Kingdom Parliament, as indicated by Mr. Robens, adopted proposals made by its Select Committee on Nationalized Industries, which reported in 1953 in favour of the establishment of a parliamentary committee to keep under review the policies and practices of the nationalized industries. The work of such a committee in an even wider field may well lead to a closer understanding of the place of public corporations in the general scheme of government, and to a resolution of the problem of control and responsibility. This Select Committee gives representatives of the Opposition an opportunity to exercise some effective supervision in the atmosphere of the committee room. I think that a solution has been indicated. It is a matter to which many of our legislatures may give some attention, acknowledging in so doing that the United Kingdom Parliament is still the Mother of Parliaments for our guidance. The matter under discussion is important as it affects the maximum efficient availability of goods and services in the community. It is therefore of great interest to all those who share a common dedication to free parliamentary democracy.

**Mr. G. F. van L. Froneman, M.P. (*Union of South Africa*):** Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates, as this is the sole occasion on which I shall address this Conference allow me to say that our very peaceful and constructive debates are due to the handsome hospitality of the States and the Commonwealth of Australia and, of course, the restraining influence of the Chair. Having said that, I say that I have approached this matter from quite a different angle from that of most of the speakers thus far. The subject for debate reads, "Parliamentary Control of Statutory Bodies". Actually, the problem does not lie with the statutory bodies. It lies rather with the Parliament itself, because Parliament is the law-making body and not the controlling body. All lesser bodies created by statute are and should be controlled by the courts, which must decide whether or not such bodies are acting within the limits of their statutory powers.

As this statement appeared to oversimplify matters, I pondered deeply on the subject, and came to the conclusion that what was meant was the problem of delegation of powers by Parliament to subordinate bodies, which then abused their powers because they acted not only as executives but also as legislators and even as judicial authorities.

Our modern life has become so complex, so intricate, and so time-scheduled,



that the man entrusted with the job must be able to take and make quick decisions and to carry them out on the spot. Modern government demands that Parliament keep abreast of all modern development. Government in the modern State is no longer just keeping peace and good order, as in the days of yore. We have already seen the advent of the Welfare State and we are experiencing the dynamic State of the atomic age and outer space. The delegation of the executive, legislative and judicial powers to statutory bodies has become a sheer necessity. Parliament lacks both the time and the technical knowledge to pass legislation in detail, and to exercise a running control over these bodies. Extensive powers must therefore be delegated to these lesser bodies that have the time and the technical knowledge to exercise them. The days are past when legislation could be as detailed as it was in the time of Henry VIII, when the Bishop of Rochester was commanded by statute in these terms: "It is ordained and enacted by authority of this present Parliament that the said Richard Rose . . . (who was the Bishop's cook) . . . shall therefore be boiled to death without having any advantage of his clergy".

Parliament, because of the lack of time and technical knowledge, must therefore confine itself to material provisions only and leave details to be settled by statutory bodies themselves. Modern life demands that the executive must not be hampered, that the man on the spot must decide, and that discretionary powers must therefore be entrusted to the man who is to perform the job. It is the granting of such discretionary powers that makes executive bodies quasi-judicial and judicial in their nature.

I remind Delegates that the problem is not the delegation of powers but the abuse of those powers once they have been granted. The fact that powers are abused is, however, no reason whatever for withholding the granting of those powers. If powers were not delegated, our whole system of government would go haywire. As the delegation of powers is essential to modern government, control of statutory bodies by Parliament does not seem to me to be possible, because you cannot have your cake and eat it too. Parliament cannot grant powers and at the same time withhold powers. The body or persons to whom powers are delegated takes the place of Parliament in respect of such powers. Once Parliament has granted powers, the grantee becomes Parliament in respect of those powers, and the problem arises only when the grantee is not so responsible as Parliament and tends to misuse and abuse his powers. The main objection to these bodies is that they sometimes act as judges in their own cause and exclude the jurisdiction of the courts. Some flagrant cases have already been cited this morning. It is suggested that there should be a division of the executive, legislative and judicial powers of these bodies.

It is said that the ideal of democratic government is a strict demarcation between legislative, executive and judicial powers, so that the legislature makes the laws, the executive carries them out, and the courts interpret them. It is therefore suggested that, in granting powers, Parliament should not grant to any executive body or person either the power to legislate or the power to interpret the laws he made. To this solution there are practical difficulties, which I have already mentioned, but in my view there are also legal objections. Anybody who has made a superficial study of the parliamentary system as developed in Great Britain knows full well that the demarcation between executive, legislative and judicial powers is foreign to the British Constitution. That is exactly the reason why the British Constitution has become such a model for good government. Let me quote in this regard the Donoughmore Commission of 1932:

In the British Constitution there is no such thing as an absolute separation of legislative, executive and judicial powers. In practice it is inevitable that they should overlap. In such constitutions as those of France and the United States of America attempts to keep them rigidly apart have been made but have proved unsuccessful.

All writers on this subject seem to agree that the separation of powers will and can only mean a breakdown of our present governmental process. If it is not possible with the major body of Parliament, so much more the reason why this separation cannot be brought about in lesser bodies. The concern over the abuse of powers by



statutory bodies is apparently not so much caused by the fact that powers are actually abused but rather by the fact that there is no separation of powers granted to statutory bodies, so that they can make regulations, break them and be a judge in their own cause. The fact that there cannot be a separation of powers for these bodies should not, however, deter us, because that in itself is, in my submission, no abuse or misuse. Sir Carleton Allen in his book *Law and Order* wrote:

It is in the interaction of powers, rather than their fragmentation, that Montesquieu found the core of the English system.

It would appear that those who advocate greater control of statutory bodies are overawed by the American Constitution and system of government. We, as protagonists of parliamentary government, should emphasize the interaction of powers rather than the fragmentation of those powers, so aptly expressed by Sir Carleton Allen in his work *Law and Order*. It is the interaction of powers which has made parliamentary government, as developed in the United Kingdom, the success that it is. I am, of course, aware that in the United Kingdom there is a scrutinizing committee which has done good and valuable work. Yet I am in full agreement with Mr. Herbert Morrison, who recently expressed himself in these terms:

I am getting rather bored by these monotonous, stereotyped speeches about delegated legislation, particularly when they come from rather backward-looking politicians. It really is nonsense. We have had delegated legislation right through this century, if not before. Every Government has engaged in it—Tory, Liberal, Labour, Coalition. The tendency is for it to increase and it is bound to be so. What is the good of boggling at something which is bound to increase if the whole legislative process is to survive at all? We can debate until we are blue in the face, but for this Government or any other Government delegated legislation has increased, will increase and, in my judgment, ought to increase.

We have to face the fact that delegation of powers to subordinate statutory bodies is not only a necessity; it is even commendable in the modern development. Concern over the lack of separation of powers which may lead to abuse need not worry us. Parliamentary control of statutory bodies can only be effective—I emphasize this—at the time those bodies are set up and granted their powers. Parliament should control by being circumspect and meticulous when granting powers. Thereafter, parliamentary control does not seem to me possible except, perhaps, by a scrutinizing committee *ex post facto*, which is certainly not very effective, as it tries to remedy matters only after the harm has been done, or, perhaps, by the method now employed in my country.

Turning to my country then, I point out that the position is that we still look mainly to the courts of law as our mainstay in the control of statutory bodies. In the words of Mr. Justice Bristowe, the position briefly is this:

If a public body or an individual exceeds its powers the Court will exercise a restraining influence, and if, while ostensibly confining itself within the scope of its powers, it nevertheless acts *mala fide* or dishonestly or for ulterior reasons which ought not to influence its judgment, the Court will again intervene.

As far as the Parliament is concerned, we have not set up a scrutinizing committee, as the United Kingdom has. We have rather veered in the direction of Canada, where the principle appears to be that the main safeguard, as far as Parliament is concerned, should be publicity and an opportunity for Parliament and the public to debate it. As far as Parliament is concerned, we have these safeguards. There is the safeguard of legislation itself. The Interpretation Act, 1910, following a previous Act of the old Cape Colony, provides generally that delegated authority, when exercised, must be notified in the Government Gazette and that all copies of all rules and regulations made in pursuance of any law shall be laid upon the tables of both Houses of Parliament within fourteen days of publication if Parliament be in session, or, if Parliament be not in session, within fourteen days after the commencement of the next ensuing session.

In addition to these legislative provisions, the enabling Acts of the Union of South Africa sometimes provide special safeguards in different forms for statutory



instruments. Certain safeguards are also provided under our parliamentary procedure, which follows closely the procedure of the Mother of Parliaments. Ministers announce that they are laying proclamations and government notices on the table, and these are recorded in the minutes. Subsequent criticism may be made on the ordinary occasions under which the Executive Government may be criticized in debate, for example, on the Motion to go into Committee of Supply, in Committee of Supply, on days when private Members have precedence, on Motions for which the Government finds time and rarely on Motions for the Adjournment of the House on matters of urgent public importance. The actions of statutory bodies can also be raised by question.

Finally then, I maintain that, like King Canute, we cannot turn the mighty tide in modern development by curbing the growth of statutory bodies. Their existence is essential to modern life and government. But I stress that the rule of law should be and is the only true safeguard. I maintain that we need not unnecessarily be concerned, except when granting powers. Then it is the Parliament's duty to be most careful, most circumspect, and most meticulous in granting powers. Thereafter, the only effective control is by the courts of law.

The real and vital safeguard for the British people when they evolved their eminent system of government was not the checks and balances of modern constitutions, nor was it the separation of powers; it was the rule of law. Control should and must be left to the courts of law. It was the rule of law that in the past assured that the interaction of powers did not become the abuse of powers, and it must be the rule of law that must similarly assure the future.

**Hon. Dato' Ong Yoke Lin, M.P., P.M.N. (Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, Federation of Malaya):** Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates, the most important and critical decision that a Government should take when establishing statutory authorities is the extent to which the Government considers it proper that political issues should be allowed to determine the conduct of the affairs of the undertaking; for no statutory authority should, I suggest, be entirely free of government control and direction, except in the quite exceptional case where it is possible to lay down a fully comprehensive directive for them in the law establishing the authority. By definition, Sir, this is rarely possible for the principal modern type of public authority, which is responsible for the conduct of utilities such as gas, electricity, coal supplies, and transport. Yet these must be given the maximum possible degree of independence. The device usually adopted nowadays is to give the Minister authority by law to give the statutory authority directions "in the national interest". Admittedly, the "national interest" is difficult to interpret, and the authority could hardly challenge the Minister in a court.

The question then arises whether there can be no check on a Minister's discretion. In the United Kingdom, in the various statutory authorities, there is, as far as I know, no such statutory check. The Minister's discretion is absolute. In practice, however, the power of discretion is very rarely exercised. In the Federation of Malaya we have evolved a device to deal with this. In the case of the Central Bank, the Land Development Authority and Central Electricity Board, the Ministers have power to give directions in the national interest, but (a) are required by law to consult the authority before doing so and (b), if they override the authority's advice, they are required by law to lay before the legislature the terms of directives and any submission against them that the authority may formally present. It should be noted, however, that this laying before the legislature does not frustrate the Minister's right of direction as such. The directive is still legal and binding on the authority. The effect, however, is to require publication of a contested directive, and the theory is that, if public opinion did not support the directive, then the Ministers would be challenged in Parliament.

Another highly controversial matter in relation to the control of independent statutory authorities relates to the admissibility or otherwise of questions in the legislature touching their conduct. In the case of an ordinary government department or of a statutory corporation which is fully controlled by the Minister, no such issue arises. A Member of Parliament can ask any question upon any detail matter and the



Minister must assume responsibility for the action taken and answer it. But where the legislature itself has given the statutory authority independent status and has confined the Minister's authority over it to certain prescriptive powers, for example, the right of appointing and dismissing members, to giving it directions in the national interest, etc., more difficult issues arise.

The very fact that the nation owns the undertaking means that members of the public, through their Members of Parliament, want to ask questions about its conduct. In the nature of things most of these will be questions of detail. The difficulty here is that, if the Minister answers these questions, he automatically assumes responsibility for the action taken. He is then on a slippery slope. For obviously unless such questions are carefully curbed, he may find that in the eyes of the legislature he is responsible for everything the authority does. Yet, by definition, the authority is independent in law, and once having appointed its members he has no control over it except by general directive. He is thus in danger of assuming public responsibility in Parliament for something which in fact, in law and practice is outside his control.

No ideal solution has been found to this problem. In Malaya we try to distinguish *ad hoc* between questions of pure detail which the Minister positively declines to answer, and questions of substantial public interest, to which the Minister provides a factual reply, saying, "I am informed by the chairman of the board that . . ."

The fundamental issue is, as I said, to determine which authorities the Government considers it to be in the national interest to have real independence. These should be given such independence, and the Government's control should be restricted to appointing and dismissing the governing body and to giving it general directions in the national interest, subject to the right of the authority to protest and require the publication of the directive and its protest before laying before the legislature.

Yet, it seems to me only fair that the legislature should have some opportunity to discuss generally the conduct of any authority. At present, in most conventional democracies, there is no provision for this unless the authority turns to the legislature for the provision of finance. Even when it does, a debate on the granting, or guarantee, of a loan to the statutory authority may not be a suitable or convenient occasion for a general discussion of the authority's activities. Perhaps, therefore, consideration should be given in the future to devices on the following lines:

- (i) Every independent statutory authority owned by the State should make an annual report to the Government which should be laid before Parliament. This is the general practice in Malaya and, I believe, elsewhere.
- (ii) The Government should then move a Motion receiving the report, and this should provide the opportunity for a general debate on the conduct of the undertaking. This is not the practice in the United Kingdom or in Malaya. It raises one immediate objection, namely, who will answer in the legislature for the conduct of the authority? By definition it should not be the Minister, since, apart from his directives, if any, he has no control over it. The only people who can answer for the conduct of the authority are the chairman and members of the statutory board itself. If this device were adopted, therefore, it would seem necessary to amend conventional standing rules and orders to provide that on such a Motion the House should go into committee, and the chairman of the statutory authority should have the right and responsibility of appearing before the committee and speaking on the Motion and answering questions.
- (iii) It would be an essential counterpart of these proposals, that once the safety valve of a debate on the affairs of the statutory authority has been provided, no questions would be admitted in Parliament relating to its conduct unless they were of "an urgent character and in the national interest".

My friend, Mr. Crestohl, has raised the interesting question of the staffing of statutory authorities. It is generally accepted that the appointment, promotion and discipline of a civil servant should not be in the hands of Ministers, lest there be the risk of the civil service thus being subjected to political pressure. Incidentally, this is not the case in the United Kingdom, where the Civil Service Commission is solely



concerned with the appointment of the civil servants. Their subsequent promotion and even their dismissal are purely and solely matters for the Prime Minister or the Secretary of State. In practice, of course, tradition in public life is so strong that political considerations are not allowed to affect the career of a servant of the Crown, except perhaps to the extent that it is tacitly admitted that, say, a Socialist Government would be entitled to appoint as head of the Civil Service the Chief of Staff, an officer known to be well disposed to its policies, provided that—but only provided that—he was by seniority and experience fully eligible for such an appointment.

The average independent statutory authority is by definition a commercial undertaking. In such undertakings the criteria for discipline and promotion must of necessity be different, and in some ways more strict, than those of a government department. The essence of a business is its technical efficiency. This means that seniority and even experience must take a second place to the management's judgment of an individual's merit, personal efficiency and capacity to discharge future responsibilities at a higher level. Inevitably these decisions involve personal judgment of intangible, although important characteristics. The senior person who is passed over may accuse the management of favouritism—and, management being human, there may sometimes be justification in the charge.

This is an issue on which there is no half-way house. If a statutory authority is to conduct its undertaking as a business, then the usual rules of business management must apply. Whilst there must be checks against favouritism or abuse, one must maintain the general responsibility of the management—as opposed to an outside body like the Civil Service Commission—for appointments, promotions and discipline. Speaking personally, I would express the view that in Malaya we fall short of a solution to this problem, to the extent that we use the Public Service Commission approach to commercial departments and departmental statutory bodies such as Post Office, Telecoms and Railways. In the Central Electricity Board, however, the law vests responsibility for staff matters in the chairman, and we have interpreted this to provide a compromise system which, whilst not claiming perfection, works reasonably well. Briefly, the system is that junior appointments and promotions are dealt with by a management committee, known as the Establishments Committee, all of whose decisions have to be approved by the general manager. The minutes of these meetings are, however, circulated to the Board's Appointments Committee; that is, they are seen by the chairman and certain members of the Board. Thus, members of the Board have the opportunity, and the time, to query recommendations which appear to them questionable. Finally, all the individual officers have a personal right of appeal to the chairman. All senior appointments, promotions, and discipline are dealt with by a committee of the Board itself, on which the general manager sits. Finally, the very senior appointments and promotions are invariably discussed at length by the full Board.

**Hon. Shri Sayaji L. Silam, M.L.A. (Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, Bombay):** Mr. Chairman, I do not intend to repeat what has been said in other speeches which have dealt with the subject in detail and at length, but I should like to give some particular details regarding parliamentary control. To begin with, I think the best way to contribute something to this discussion will be a direct reference to my country's position in regard to parliamentary control. Therefore, if references are made mostly to Indian Union and State Legislatures, I must ask the indulgence of Delegates.

As you all know, India is a sovereign democratic republic and a union of States. The Constitution of India, under which the Government at the centre and the Government in the States are run, derives its authority from the people, and it fully recognizes the sovereignty of the people in the administration of the country. This sovereignty is exercised through Parliament with a responsible cabinet as its executive instrument. The seed of parliamentary government can be said to have been sown in India first in 1773, and it was only in 1921 that the central legislature was given an elected majority and the right to vote supplies.

Now, under the Constitution of India, an annual financial statement—that is, a statement of estimated receipts and expenditure of the Government for the ensuing



fiscal year—has to be placed before the Parliament. A similar statement has to be placed before the State legislatures also. The demands included in the estimate of anticipated expenditure are voted on, and the grants made. The right to vote having been given, arrangements have been made for effective audit. The practice in the United Kingdom has been adopted—that is to say, the audit of financial transactions of the Government is by the Comptroller and Auditor-General. He is an independent officer appointed by the President of India.

The Auditor-General examines the annual accounts to satisfy himself that parliamentary grants have been applied to the purposes for which they were intended, and that they have been spent according to law, rules and regulations. He certifies the accounts as correct, subject to whatever reservations he chooses to make, and makes his report to Parliament. Similarly, in respect of the accounts of the States, the Auditor-General makes his report. The examination of the report is entrusted to the Public Accounts Committee of the House both at the Centre and in the States. Its review completes the cycle of control to make the authority of the legislature over expenditure, both at the Centre and in the States, effective.

I think, Sir, this very procedure more or less prevails in other countries which have adopted the parliamentary form of government. And, mind you, this procedure is only in respect of items of expenditure, the appropriations for which are sanctioned by the legislature. It does not apply to many concerns in which Governments have been recently interesting themselves in investing money. Before independence, India was fulfilling primarily a complementary role in the economy of the British Empire. She used to be an exporter of raw materials in bulk to support manufacturing units located elsewhere. Towards the closing years of the second world war there was an urge for the mobilization of the vast industrial potential of the country in a planned manner. The constitution of the National Government in 1947 brought a sense of urgency to this vital question. It was resolved to promote a rapid rise in the standard of living of the people by exploiting the latent resources of the country by increasing production.

The principle of industrial enterprises being undertaken by the Government having been conceded, the form of management of such enterprises, established and financed wholly or predominantly by the Government, had to be settled. After a careful consideration it was acknowledged that the procedure for financial control and the system of accounting applicable to the normal activities of the Government obviously could not be adopted for the efficient administration of industrial enterprises. This could be done only if such units were managed on commercial lines, as if they were enterprises in the private sector. The largest measure of financial and administrative autonomy commensurate with public accountability had, therefore, to be conferred on the agencies for those undertakings.

Let us now examine, Sir, the measure of control which Parliament or the State Legislatures, as the case may be, can exercise over the activities of such bodies which have been given autonomy. These bodies come under three broad classes. These are, first, undertakings set up by the Government and run departmentally, such as railways, post and telegraphs, ordnance factories, etc.; secondly, undertakings set up under specific Acts of Parliament or Acts of the State Legislatures, whose accounts are audited by the Comptroller and Auditor-General, or whose accounts are not audited by the Comptroller and Auditor-General, but whose annual accounts of auditors are laid before the legislature; and thirdly, undertakings set up under acts such as the Indian Companies Act, in which the Government owns more than 50 per cent. of the shares.

As you are aware, Sir, in the case of departmental units the control of Parliament or the State Legislatures is absolute, since their annual requirements of finance are presented to the House in the form of demands for grants. Therefore, there cannot be any dispute regarding the control of industries which are run by departments. Here the Auditor-General follows the normal procedure and the Public Accounts Committee as well as the Estimates Committee exercise vital supervisory functions. The only important point which requires stressing here is that papers and files relating to the



transactions should be brought to the notice of the Public Accounts Committee as quickly as possible and should be disposed of by the Committee. Apart from considerations of public interest, this would help both the Committee and the Auditor-General to see things in their proper perspective.

In the case of statutory corporations two important considerations have to be borne in mind. First, the corporations should be given autonomy—in other words they should be given enough scope to function independently, subject, of course, to the provisions of an enactment. Secondly, since the people provide the funds, they should be accounted for before the Parliament. Here it is suggested that the Auditor-General should not be asked to audit the accounts. I will tell you the reason why. While the Auditor-General's rules are excellent for controlling the activities of the normal departments of the States, men who have some business experience have expressed the opinion that commercial concerns would be hampered unduly in their activities, and the very purpose of nationalization defeated, if we adopted the criteria of the Auditor-General.

By this, I do not mean to disparage the rules and methods of the Auditor-General. I am only trying to put before you the opinion of businessmen who have wide experience. In the case of state enterprises incorporated as companies, the chartered accountant finds out whether the officers and directors have acted within the scope of their authority. If losses are incurred they are not attributed to their wrongful exercise of authority. In short, where discretion has to be employed, the test for judging actions is different, but even if the accounts are audited by chartered accountants they must come up before Parliament for discussion. This, Sir, leads me to an important consideration. Since parliamentary time is limited, we in legislatures do not have sufficient time to review such accounts. Therefore, instruments such as Select Committees must be appointed to process reports and review the working of these industries. That does not, however, mean that there should not be a discussion annually of these reports.

Another criticism I have to make is that public companies are placed in a position different from private companies by certain enactments. Let it be so. I have no quarrel with that, but what I would like to suggest is that as far as possible we should assimilate the rules of company law applicable to private companies, to public companies. This will help Parliament, when it discusses, to have a clear view of what is happening in the public sector.

Ultimately what I feel is that parliamentary control can be effective only if we make competition possible even informally as between units of a public enterprise. The performance of one unit will be judged by the performance of another unit. Within the system itself there will be internal checks and in the balance the external check exercised by Parliament would help to promote efficiency, keep people straight and bring about an increase in advantages.

There is one more suggestion I would like to make. In certain cases the State Government gives financial assistance to certain bodies, e.g. land mortgage banks. The annual accounts of these concerns are not laid before the legislature. But to me it appears necessary that, with a view to seeing whether Governments are running any risk or loss, they also should be laid before the legislature so that the activities of such concerns may come within the preview of the Government.

You might be aware, Sir, that in the U.S.A. there are government business enterprises—most of the important business undertakings are budgeted and financed through the regular appropriations procedure. These undertakings include the hydro-electric projects. The Executive Department is directly responsible for its administration and all expenditures flow from regular appropriations. Next come the corporations which are used to carry out a broad range of government programme, largely of a revenue-producing type. They have greater financial and administrative autonomy and are free from traditional controls. Parliamentary control is provided for in the Corporation Central Act, under which every corporation has to submit a budget programme for its operation. This budget goes through the regular budget process and is approved by the Congress. It would appear that this process obtaining in the U.S.A. provides wider scope for the legislature to exercise its control. This tendency to form



public corporations financed mainly by the Government is also found in Great Britain and in India as well, and is perhaps inevitable with the expansion of government functions in the process of transformation to the Welfare State.

Now the conclusion we come to is that it is essential in all cases of statutory corporations which are financed mainly from government revenues, that provision should be made in the statutes themselves that accounts of such corporations shall be audited by the Auditor-General and that his audit reports shall be presented to Parliament. Sir, I have completed what I wanted to say, but before I sit down I would like to stress that, howsoever laudable and praiseworthy may be the object and efforts of Governments to undertake business enterprises in the process of transformation to the welfare state, it is not only our concern as Parliamentarians but our duty to see that there is no whittling of parliamentary control over public money.

**Mr. J. M. Howard, M.P. (*United Kingdom*):** Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates, the speeches to which we have listened so far this morning have made it clear that all our respective Governments have a great deal in common in their approach to this problem and, at the same time, that a number of differences in detail are emerging. I think that probably the best service one can render to this debate is to express, or to endeavour to express, the attitude of one's own Parliamentarians towards this particular problem. My friend, Mr. Alfred Robens, in his speech, mentioned that in his view there were two types of public undertaking. He instanced the Post Office as one type which was either under the direct control, or part of, a ministerial department, and the other type he described as the public corporations. I seek to divide the problem a little further.

I would divide public undertakings into three sections. First of all, there is the type of board which is set up to carry out a particular project. We saw an example of that in Australia in the Snowy Mountains Authority. At home, we have the example of the new towns corporations, boards or bodies set up for a specific purpose, namely, to develop a new town in an otherwise undeveloped area in Britain. The second type of board is that which provides a service within the country. Again, to give an example, I quote the Electricity Board or the Gas Board, which provide services only in the country which sets up the board. The third type of public corporation goes further. It is a trading corporation. We have several good examples, such as the Coal Board, which not only is responsible for hewing the coal but also for selling it at the pithead and abroad. Our airlines, too, might be said to be trading corporations in that they not only carry out a service within the confines of the United Kingdom but also carry out the same service abroad and compete with other countries in the provision of service and air routes.

The further extension of the third category into industry, into trading in general, is something on which, of course, I take issue with my friend Alfred Robens. We in Britain have recently decided that we shall go no further into the realms of trading or manufacturing activities through the medium of public undertakings or public corporations. I am afraid that the event which brought about this decision also delayed the arrival of the British Delegation in Australia. Though we regret the lack of opportunity to take part in the earlier episodes of the tour, some of us at least think that the delay may have been worth while.

I feel that since this is a Conference of Parliamentarians I should try to express the attitude, not of a Minister in charge of a department, for I am a back-bench Member, but of the private Member of the House of Commons towards this problem. The activities of the bodies which we have to deal with in the House of Commons range fairly widely, from broadcasting and television right through to transport, as I have mentioned before. Certain of the public bodies trade with one another. For example, the Coal Board sells coal to the Electricity and Gas Boards, and the coal is carried on our nationalized railways. There is, therefore, a need for accountability, a point at which some supervision should be exercised in the pricing of coal and, indeed, also in the arrangements for freight charges.

At home, of course, we listen to the radio and to the programmes of the British Broadcasting Corporation. Here we have a safeguard, in that in the sphere of television



there is also competing an independently owned television authority. All these particular authorities—the electricity boards, the coal boards, the air lines, the railways and so on—are public bodies owned by the State and operated by the chairmen and management boards of those public bodies who are nominated by the responsible Minister. This means in practice that the industries are governed by the boards, although the public corporation itself is in theory owned by the people of the country.

How do we, as the representatives of the people, exercise some control and supervision over the bodies which we have set up? In other words, what can a Parliamentarian do if his constituents complain, as they frequently do, that there are stones in a bag of coal, that their train was half an hour late, or that the meal on an aircraft did not quite come up to their expectations? The answer is, very little. He can only write to the chairman of the board in the same way as a private individual, although possibly a letter with the House of Commons monogram on it might carry a little more weight. The opportunity for Parliamentarians to exercise some supervision really lies in the realms of policy for which the Minister is responsible.

The instruments which lie ready to the hand of the Parliamentarian are, first of all, the parliamentary Question, with supplementaries to explore the Minister's reply further; secondly, a committee to examine the accounts of these authorities; and thirdly, debates in the House, either on the adjournment or when the annual report and accounts are presented. Here I may perhaps be forgiven, as a chartered accountant, for remarking that we in the United Kingdom are a little more enlightened than are our Australian colleagues, in that the accounts of the public corporations are audited, not by the Auditor-General, but by independent firms of accountants.

Parliamentary control, therefore, lies in the control which we can exercise over the Minister. If we take, as an example, the Minister of Transport, who is responsible not only for public undertakings but for roads as well, we can pursue our inquiries on such points as policy, modernization of rolling stock, and electrification of new lines, or the closing of unprofitable lines, for all of those matters are matters of policy which can be debated in the House.

Since the parliamentary control is exercised through the Minister, perhaps I may be forgiven for following up the remarks which I think my Rt. Hon. friend made. The Minister's job, as I have said, is to appoint the chairman of the board. He also has power to give general directions as to how an industry should be run, but he may not, and does not, interfere with the day-to-day management decisions—in other words, the commercial decisions of the public undertaking. Thirdly, and importantly, the Minister has financial powers and responsibilities. He can sanction loans, subject of course to general Treasury approval, which means that the industry is additionally responsible to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

May I conclude with a word about Parliament's annual review? We can debate the financial state of the nationalized industry covered by the board. Indeed, we should do so. We look at the adequacy of the depreciation, to see if funds are available for the necessary advance of the industry. We look at the place of the industry in our general investment policy and, most importantly, we see whether that industry is balancing its receipts against its outgoings, or whether it is able to balance them over a period of years.

I think that what I have said will illustrate to my fellow Delegates that it is not easy to control a complex nationalized industry. Nor, indeed, is it easy for a Member of Parliament to assimilate the reports and annual accounts so as to be in a position to offer the criticism through which we can effect some supervision of an industry. In operation, of course, we must place a high degree of reliance on the Minister, and on the boards which he has chosen to administer these public corporations.

What advice can we give from our experience to other members of this Association who may be thinking of embarking upon a wider spread of public undertakings? I would say: try to avoid the nationalized trading body. Where one already exists, see if some form of competition can be set up so as to provide a standard of comparison against which the efficiency of the public undertaking can be measured. In conclusion, may I say that our most important job as Parliamentarians is to test the



efficiency of these public undertakings and to see that the efficiency is reviewed and criticized from time to time.

**Senator the Hon. N. E. McKenna (Leader of the Opposition in the Senate, *Australian Commonwealth*):** Mr. Chairman, of necessity, and at this stage of the debate, I confine myself to dealing broadly only with a very few aspects of this very interesting question. I begin by paying tribute to the earlier speakers for their thoughtful contributions to the discussion. In particular I should like to compliment the opener from India upon the very comprehensive treatment of the subject which he gave.

The claim is often made in this country that Australia formed the first statutory corporation by appointing the State Savings Bank of Victoria in the year 1841. I am interested to know whether any Delegate is in a position to contravert that claim. Resort to the device of the statutory corporation has been forced by reason of the constantly expanding scope of governmental and parliamentary activity throughout the world. Today the statutory corporation is in universal use. I have merely to point from the state trusts of Russia to authorities such as the Tennessee Valley Authority in the United States and the boards which control the nationalized industries of Great Britain, as well as to the fifty-odd corporations that we were told by the opener were now in operation in India. Despite the very great legal and social differences in the systems of government, we find the statutory corporation in almost all countries.

The members of these boards are, rather necessarily in my view, recruited from outside the ordinary public service of a country. That is due to the fact that specialists are required for particular purposes. But whether they are recruited for full-time or part-time service only, we can be sure that each member is interested in two things—first, security of tenure, and secondly, the degree of autonomy that he will have. If a country gives complete autonomy to a statutory authority of any type, the principle of ministerial responsibility is abandoned, and control by Parliament is abdicated. The problem in every case is, of course, to make some necessary concession to the demand for autonomy made by a statutory authority, while preserving some real degree of ministerial responsibility and control—as well as, of course, responsibility to the Parliament itself.

Experience rather indicates that Governments of a conservative complexion tend rather to yield on the side of autonomy of the authority, while more radical Governments come down on the side of ministerial control and responsibility to the Parliament. We find that the circumstances leading to the creation of each statutory authority differ from authority to authority. It is common to find great differences between the methods that are applied in seeking to put into operation the principles which should govern the establishment of statutory authorities of the kind that we are considering. The situation varies, of course, even within particular countries. It ranges from the case in which the Minister may give only broad policy directions to that in which the authority is required to obtain ministerial approval before embarking upon a particular course of action. Again, a complete veto may rest in the Minister.

There are, of course, variations of these arrangements, but despite what a Parliament may provide in setting up one of these corporations, my own experience is that personal factors always come into the situation. One can visualize the type of authority where, owing to the prestige of the members—their capacity and their strength of personality—they may exercise a far greater degree of autonomy than the Parliament intended that they should have. On the other hand, looking at the ministerial level, one can find a Minister whose interest, whose knowledge and whose strength—but, above all, whose substantive power of renewal of the term of members—enable him to dominate or coerce an authority to an extent not disclosed publicly, and against the true intention of the Parliament. In both cases the intention of the Parliament is defeated.

I suggest that the dangers might be met by one of the suggestions which came from you yourself, Mr. Chairman. You proposed that Ministers who gave directions to statutory authorities should file them in the Parliament and that the filing, if necessary, should precipitate a debate. That is unquestionably one safeguard. There is



another that I propose for consideration—namely, that the Parliament itself should set up Standing Committees charged with the duty of reporting to the Parliament at regular intervals upon the operation of the Acts which constitute the particular authorities. The interval that I have in mind for each authority is two or three years. More than one Committee may be required for the purpose. The important thing is that this would assure general parliamentary oversight over the corporations and ensure that the statutory authorities, their functioning and the conduct of the Minister come under the constant scrutiny of the Parliament.

I bypass, of course, a lot of the great problems associated with the staffing of the authority, its method of finance, its method of accounting and of auditing, and the terms upon which the members of a board, who are in a fiduciary position, may contract with the authority of which they are members. I have no time to discuss the vastly interesting field of the questions that arise when a statutory authority in fact exceeds, or is in fact alleged to exceed, its proper powers. Each one of those is a great question that demands particular consideration. I put the view that the statutory authority is a convenient and inescapable instrument of government and national policy, but that we, as Parliamentarians, have to be vigilant to ensure that there is constant scrutiny of the operations of the Acts, the Ministers and the bodies themselves. At the same time, our attitude should be sufficiently flexible to enable us to realize that an *ad hoc* approach must be made to the constitution of any authority—that the scope of any authority is a separate problem which must be dealt with by itself.

Mr. Deputy Chairman, as this is the only opportunity which I shall have to address the Conference, as it draws to a close, may I just touch on a concluding theme. In my view, the spirit of this Conference is far more important than are the things that we discuss here. It has been a delightful and very refreshing experience for me and all my colleagues from Australia to meet all the Delegates from overseas, in particular those from the new nations and those from the countries that are on the point of obtaining nationhood. I see in them the fresh spirit of the morning. I see faith. I see hope. I see determined and high endeavour in them to develop their countries and to uplift their peoples. On behalf of Australia, I convey to them the good wishes of everybody in this country. May I crystallize those good wishes in two words. I am confident that I speak for every Australian when I say that we wish our friends, as they patiently and laboriously approach each plateau on the way to the attainment of their objectives, “happy landings”.

**Mr. John S. Clark, M.P. (South Australia):** Mr. Deputy Chairman and—I say it with a good deal of pleasure and pride—friends, I trust that I may be pardoned if, for a moment or two, I offer a few general observations on the Conference up to date, as I have seen it, since this is the first opportunity that I have had to speak. To my way of thinking, the Conference has been very much like Parliament in some ways, and very little like it in others. We have heard some very good speeches indeed, and some not so good. That, of course, is like Parliament again. It is very easy indeed to utter well-meant platitudes, and, if I may say so, Sir, we have heard some of those, too. It is not so easy to offer real and concrete contributions to the debates. But many of the Delegates have made such contributions.

I have used the word “debates”, Sir. We realize that strictly—to my mind, this may be a fault of our system of Conferences—these are not really debates at all. After all, no real decisions are made, except in the minds of Delegates, although those, of course, may be very important indeed. We have little of the parliamentary habit of hammering out our convictions hard, irrespective of feelings. We give Shakespeare credit for most things, and I think it was he who said, speaking of lawyers—though perhaps it could apply also to Members of Parliament—“Strive mightily, but eat and drink as friends”. Apparently, nearly all of us have been rather afraid to touch on the controversial. This may or may not be a good thing. I have always had the feeling, in my experience of parliamentary life, that it is usually better to ventilate our grievances and thresh out some tangible results. I leave that thought with Delegates to the Conference.

I was most interested in the debate this morning. I think it has been one of the



best we have had. My contribution will be mainly bread and butter stuff—mostly bread, and not very much butter. I want to speak in particular of a committee that we have in South Australia—a committee that we have found has worked very satisfactorily indeed for the good of Members and of the Parliament. In South Australia, as in other States, there are very many statutory bodies. Nominally, at least, these are more or less within the province of particular Ministers and they can be to some extent controlled, or at least checked on, in the normal way, either by resolutions or by questions to the Minister.

The committee with which I want to deal is the Joint Committee on Subordinate Legislation, in the South Australian Parliament. We have found that this Committee has had a very salutary effect in providing control without taking away any of the powers of individual Members or of the Parliament itself. Indeed, Sir, the Committee has been of great assistance to Members. A great number of statutes have provision for regulations for the convenient administration and enforcement of Acts. As an illustration, I may mention our huge Local Government Act, which is the most cumbersome Act we have, and which provides for by-laws and regulations on nearly 100 matters. All Members should know about such by-laws and regulations. But do they, Mr. Deputy Chairman?

We believe that, if Parliament is to be supreme and the rights of the people it represents are to be preserved, it is imperative that such by-laws and regulations be fully investigated and their implications understood. We in South Australia found, prior to 1938, that scrutiny of by-laws and regulations was left, virtually, to the whims of individual Members. There was a tendency for the individual Member to look only at those which directly concerned him. The net result, of course, is that nobody really bothered very much about them, because it was too big a job.

I remember well the words of the late Hon. John McInnes, a former chairman of the Subordinate Legislation Committee and a former Speaker of the House of Assembly in South Australia, who said:

The work of examining such regulations can only be satisfactorily carried out by a Committee charged with that duty. Otherwise everybody's work becomes nobody's work and the regulations are not given proper consideration and attention.

After other less satisfactory ideas had been tried for a short time, on 11th August, 1938, the Joint Committee for Subordinate Legislation was established. It has proved an outstanding success. This Committee consists of three Members each from the House of Assembly and the Legislative Council in South Australia. I shall quote the two Standing Orders which are pertinent to my remarks. Standing Order 25 reads:

It shall be the duty of the Committee to consider all Regulations. If the Regulations are made while Parliament is in Session, the Committee shall consider the Regulations before the end of the period during which any Motion for disallowance of these Regulations may be moved in either House. If the Regulations are made whilst Parliament is not in Session the Committee shall consider the Regulations as soon as it conveniently may after the making thereof.

Standing Order 26 reads:

The Committee shall with respect to any Regulations consider:

(a) whether the Regulations are in accord with the general objects of the Act, pursuant to which they are made; (b) whether the Regulations unduly trespass on rights previously established by law; (c) whether the Regulations unduly make rights dependent upon administrative and not upon judicial decisions; (d) whether the Regulations contain matter which, in the opinion of the Committee, should properly be dealt with in an Act of Parliament.

They are the only permissible grounds on which Members of the Committee may move for the disallowance of a by-law or regulation. Of course, Mr. Chairman, very many of the by-laws and regulations that come before us are very simple indeed and they get very little scrutiny before reaching the Committee. The Committee has the right to call witnesses, if it so desires, and the general public has the right to appear



as witnesses before the Committee. Therefore, the Committee has an opportunity to obtain a broad picture of the effect of the by-law or the regulation. The Committee cannot amend; it can only accept or reject. But, of course, even then the final say is with Parliament. If the Committee decides against a certain by-law or a regulation, one of its Members will move in either House for its disallowance and this Motion, of course, is freely debated. Usually—but not always—the opinion of the Committee is upheld by Parliament.

Another safeguard, Sir, is that, even if the Committee feels that it is not necessary to take action on a regulation, any Member may move for its disallowance. As a matter of fact, he is not likely to succeed unless his case is very good, but he does have an opportunity to initiate a debate on it, and in this way he gets some satisfaction.

I should like to sum up the effects of this Committee as follows: (1) It carefully scrutinizes all subordinate legislation without interfering with individual Members' rights. (2) It has been proved to have an excellent tempering effect for the better on authorities making subordinate legislation. We never have any gambling on whether or not the effect of a regulation will be noticed, because all regulations are scrutinized by an independent body.

Personally, Mr. Chairman, I would like to see this system applied to such statutory bodies as we have in South Australia which are, at least nominally, if not directly, under the control of Ministers. To mention two—there are, of course, others—I refer to the Electricity Authority and the South Australian Housing Trust. Both these bodies are doing excellent jobs, but they are not directly under the control of a Minister. I commend this system to Delegates as being the most effective way of giving complete power to investigate subordinate legislation made by statutory bodies.

In the few minutes that remain to me, Mr. Chairman, I should like to say a few words—not to make a profound statement—on the useful purpose that this Conference has served up to date. I should like to state some questions that have been posed to me by Delegates, not only from South Australia, but also from overseas. Let us consider these questions: Have the contacts made through the Conference been more useful than the actual proceedings? Should this be so? Is it a fact that what is of value is often almost swamped by Delegates taking the opportunity to speak at all costs? Personally, Sir, if I may do so, I would like to say that I should like to see the Conference more like a real Parliament. After all, Sir, who knows? This Conference could develop into the Parliament of the Commonwealth or even into "The Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World" as Tennyson said. That is a vision, perhaps, but what a noble vision, what a noble possibility!

**Mr. Baron D. Snider, M.P. (Victoria):** Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates, the subject before us is one of fundamental importance, not only in the preservation of representative parliamentary government as we understand it, but in the preservation of the rights and the liberty of the individual. I hope I will not be thought to be over-serious when I express my belief that the greatest threat to our democracy might not lie simply in the more obvious, the more blatant attempts to superimpose another form of government upon the people from without. That might well come from a less obvious acquisition of power by bodies brought into existence by Parliament in the first place, which suddenly expand themselves to the point where they challenge the very supremacy of Parliament itself. It is true that when one considers the variety of legislation which Parliament has had to contend with over the years, one appreciates the necessity for delegation. Parliament has to deal with a wide variety of subjects, embracing public health, education, and matrimonial and criminal law—to cite just a few of the subjects that come before us. In addition, in more recent years, Parliament has been forced to grapple with many highly technical and scientific questions which have come about from the scientific developments of the age in which we live.

Now, Sir, in the atomic era in which we now find ourselves, Parliament will doubtless have to consider even more highly technical and scientific matters. This has led to a position described by Professor Sir Carleton Allen in a book called *Law and Order*, with which our United Kingdom friends must be familiar, where, to use



his words, Parliament has had to face the problem of attempting to conduct the whole business of government by its own machinery. But it becomes clear, from the variety of subjects, that some delegation is necessary, first, to relieve Parliament of the pressure of detailed administration, and, secondly, to relieve it of matters too technical for effective handling in Parliament. It is clear from the foregoing that an increasingly important amount of subordinate legislation has been and will be placed in the hands of local authorities and statutory public authorities. This trend has given rise to some concern.

So great and so important has the sphere of delegated legislation become, Mr. Chairman, that it has aroused in many the fear that Parliament itself may cease to be the central controlling organ of the Constitution. There have been comments by other people on this sphere. Lord Hewart, in an interesting book called *The New Despotism*, stated:

It is one thing to confer power, subject to proper restrictions, to make regulations. It is another thing to give these regulations the force of a statute. . . . It is one thing to make regulations which are to have no effect unless and until they are approved by Parliament. It is another thing to make regulations behind the back of Parliament which come into force without the knowledge of Parliament.

Professor Allen, in a book called *Bureaucracy Triumphant*, goes even further. His comment is:

A statute is passed in full publicity, under a running fire of analysis, criticism and amendment in both Houses. The regulations of departments and local authorities are created by the tortuous processes of the official mind and curtailed from the vulgar gaze by departmental "discretion".

To those who may feel that these fears are not quite justified, may I take a moment to tell a very simple story? A gentleman was walking along a street with a very small dog when he encountered a friend of his, who recoiled from the small dog in some fear. The owner of the dog said to him, "Look, my friend, you have nothing to fear. You and I both know that this small dog won't bite you". The friend replied, "You may know that the dog won't bite me and I may know that the dog won't bite me, but does the dog know?"

I think that that story sums up the concern of those people who have made this point. Professor Friedman, Professor of Public Law at the University of Melbourne, has summed the concern up by saying:

The principle of representative democracy is that supreme political authority shall be exercised by persons directly responsible to the electorate.

The crux of the problem emerges, therefore, when we consider that these statutory bodies are in the control, very often, of persons who are not directly responsible to the electorate. Very often machinery under which such bodies operate tends to deprive the individual of the normal recourse which he has to Parliament itself through his elected representative.

This question has been considered many times before. It was considered by a committee in 1927 under the chairmanship of Lord Hewart, which at that time drafted a Bill which I gather was not proceeded with. In 1929 the Lord Chancellor, Lord Sankey, appointed a committee to examine Ministers' powers. This committee made certain recommendations in 1932, some of which have been implemented but many of which have apparently not been completely implemented. It is quite apparent that there is an increasing body of concern that Parliament may be losing some of its supremacy. When the rights of individuals are affected, we have even greater cause for concern.

One simple example is the case in which a statutory body may impose penalties without the right of appeal. Another example is the case in which a defendant may be given certain rights before a statutory body which is sitting in its judicial capacity but is not bound by any of the normal rules of evidence which would afford protection of the defendant. In these cases we find a subordinate body legislating by regulation,



enforcing its own legislation, and then sitting in judgment in respect of its own legislation. This is something which Parliament itself does not do.

I am not going to attempt to cover the legal aspects of this matter because time would not permit me to do so. However, I want to make one comment. There are certain legal limitations on the validity of the acts of statutory bodies to which Parliament has delegated authority. There is the doctrine of *ultra vires*, there is the rule of law, which has been cited before, and there is the British common law protection which is given in many instances. But the big question appears to be, not what legal limitations might exist, but the fact that they might have to be tested by the individual affected at great expense to himself and without knowing what the result of such testing will be until the question has been decided legally. The question seems to revolve, therefore, on the question of parliamentary control in the first instance.

It has been indicated that, for various Parliaments, certain Standing Committees have been appointed. In our own State of Victoria such a Committee exists, but my feeling is that, important as this step may be, it might not yet be sufficient. It seems to me that these Committees are looking at regulations to determine whether they come within the framework of the statute, whereas the fault might lie in the statute itself in the original instance where, carelessly, a power has been conferred on a statutory body, which was never intended. The lesson, therefore, appears to be that prevention is better than cure.

I believe that the matter should be one of fundamental concern to Parliamentarians wherever they may be. I would like to see emerge from this body a legislative committee which would study this question further and make recommendations. The question transcends all party politics. Parliament has evolved through a long-suffering process and was originally subservient to the principle of the divine right of kings. Let us make sure that, in our contribution to it, we do not lose sight of the principle of the divine right of the individual.

**Hon. Kevin O. Lyons, M.H.A. (Tasmania):** Mr. Chairman, this matter is of particular importance to a State which is a part of a federation. I speak now of Australia. The system, as far as revenue-raising is concerned, is such that the States do not have the responsibility for the public purse that they should have. This makes all the more necessary a State Parliament taking an active part in all the activities that go to make up parliamentary government as we know it.

All speakers have stressed that the most important aspect is the accountability to Parliament of statutory bodies. I would say that they have all done it, to some degree, with tongue in cheek. My experience in my State, which I take to be a fair specimen of other States, has led me to believe that in relation to statutory bodies Parliament is presented with a *fait accompli*. Once the event has taken place, there is little that Parliament can do. There should be a degree of public responsibility as far as Parliament is concerned, but I would suggest that the records indicate otherwise.

I speak largely as a Member of the Tasmanian Parliament. We have a peculiar system which does not do much credit to Tasmania nor to the British parliamentary system of government. In my State, the Members of Parliament do not represent the people as far as the statutory bodies are concerned, because there is no real responsibility by Parliament with relation to the statutory bodies. Reference has been made to the desirability of making comments on the annual reports of the statutory bodies. If our experience is the experience of other places, sometimes the annual reports are up to two years overdue. What is the purpose of addressing your remarks to something that is ancient history? It is an extraordinary coincidence, perhaps, that practically all the statutory bodies in this country seem to do less well than private enterprise under similar circumstances.

Perhaps Mr. Robens provided the answer. He said, in effect, that statutory bodies did not have to worry about making increased profits for shareholders, and that they merely had to meet the commitments of interest and sinking fund charges associated with their enterprises, and so had more time to concentrate upon efficiency. I believe that therein lies the fallacy, because they have not the incentive to do better.



No industry that is being run efficiently should be afraid of public parliamentary probing. By the same token, such an industry should not be hounded by continued probing. This matter rests finally with Members of Parliament themselves, because parliamentary government is based on the concept of responsibility of Members. If Members are responsible, there is no problem. From my short experience of parliamentary life, I believe that most Members accept their responsibilities as was intended when the original procedures were devised.

What are the purposes of statutory bodies? Time does not permit me to go into this. I say merely that I believe Governments should intervene only where private enterprise cannot or will not provide essential services. They should also intervene, perhaps, to control monopolies, where the interests of the monopolies are inimical to the interests of the people or the State in which they operate. My experience has been that usually statutory bodies are established to satisfy the political ego of individuals or party groups. Unfortunately, they are set up to cover up corruption, incompetence or maladministration in government departments, and their establishment is itself an admission of incompetence by the Government. We have only a pocket-handkerchief State, but we have well over 100 statutory bodies, without taking into consideration hospital boards, fire brigade boards, and similar bodies. Our position is quite different from that of other States.

Our major statutory body is the hydroelectric authority. Eleven years ago, when I first entered the Tasmanian Parliament, our public debt was £30 million. Now it is £160 million, of which half is invested in the hydroelectric authority, over which Parliament has no control whatsoever, apart from the fact that when a new scheme comes forward Parliament has the right to accept or reject it. But when any new scheme has been proposed, no alternative scheme has been presented for Members to consider. The question then is of either accepting or rejecting the scheme suggested. If it is rejected, there is no further hydroelectric development in the State.

With the increase in statutory bodies, there has been an increasing tendency to place more and more power in the executive, and in my part of the world, perhaps because of a peculiar financial set-up, there has also been an increasing tendency for the electorate to ignore financial responsibilities. I believe that in these three matters lies the greatest threat to the parliamentary institution as we know it. We may yet come to the conclusion that we have given birth to a Frankenstein monster that will one day devour the body that established it. On many occasions the establishment of a statutory body has been an admission by the executive of its own incompetence in the control of its funds. I believe that we should and will do better than that, but, unless we watch tendencies that have developed in certain parts of the world, we shall do away with the very system that we came here primarily to protect. I trust that the discussions we have had on this matter will play some part in improving the position.

**Hon. E. A. P. Dupuch, C.B.E., M.H.A. (Bahamas):** Mr. Chairman, we have heard a number of very interesting views on public corporations and parliamentary control, and I have found the criticisms expressed most constructive. I should like to follow the line of thought that was first introduced by Mr. Crestohl and carried on by Mr. Froneman, and the representatives of South Australia and Victoria. There are two types of delegated legislation. The first is the type that gives to a public authority—this applies to a Minister or civil servant as much as to a corporation or board—the right to legislate. That takes various forms. Lord Hewart's *New Despotism*, which has been mentioned this morning, gives an example where a Minister was given not only the right to legislate but also the right to modify legislation already passed by Parliament. That, of course, is an extremely dangerous principle and, if it does exist, it is up to us as Members of the Parliaments of the Commonwealth to see that it does not operate in the future. It is extremely dangerous to give up the powers we have, which we treasure so highly.

I did not quite gather from the remarks of the South Australian representative whether in this country the procedure is that rules and orders are laid on the table of the House and are considered by a committee of the House before actually coming into effect. If that is so, it is an extremely good provision. In my colony, we have a



provision that rules and orders are laid on the table of both Houses of the Legislature at the next meeting; but they come into effect immediately. They can be condemned by either House within six weeks—the concurrence of both Houses is not necessary—but in the meantime they have actually been in operation. I think it may be as well for us to consider whether it is not more desirable to have statutory rules and orders laid on the table of the House before they actually come into effect, because incalculable damage can be done.

One point I noticed in the remarks of the Member from South Australia was that, apparently, certain grounds are set down on which these rules and orders are considered. That is not so in my colony; I do not know what the position is in other countries of the Commonwealth. Actually, the way our statute is worded, the Parliament may be as capricious as it pleases in condemning rules and orders. Of course, that may be thought to be undesirable, but I think that the right to be capricious is one of the inalienable rights of Parliament. I cannot imagine the right to be capricious being placed in better hands than the hands of the representatives of the people, if it is to be exercised by anyone at all.

The even more dangerous practice has grown up of excluding the jurisdiction of the courts of justice. I for one, as a servant of the common law, deplore that practice very much. The courts should never be excluded. Instances given both by Lord Hewart and by Sir Carleton Allen, in his very excellent and scholarly book, show the decision of a Minister or a statutory body has been declared to be final. That, Sir, is intolerable, and I appeal to Members of the Commonwealth Parliaments never to permit it. I was interested to hear the speaker from South Africa say that he felt that these bodies should be controlled by the courts. I could not agree with him more, and that is perfectly all right, provided, of course, that the courts are not controlled by anybody. I think even more deplorable than the shearing of the Parliament of its powers is the shearing of the courts of their independence.

There are many young, budding nations amongst us, and I have been a bit concerned by the fact that there has been a great tendency to give to statutory bodies—the creatures of Parliament, fashioned in the image of tyranny—the right to perform the job of Parliament. Perhaps some may think I am referring to a particular nation of the Commonwealth; I am not. It makes no difference whether the nation is white, brown or black. I think that we should all give that some thought, because there is no greater and no more intolerable tyrant than the serf who becomes a master. I live next door to a republic which more than 100 years ago gained its independence from France. Its people threw off the yoke of colonial abuse and, as far as I can see, I am sorry to say, the only thing that they have won is the right to suffer even greater abuse at the hands of their own people.

I appeal to our young nations to safeguard their rights, and the only safeguard is Parliament. Let us not create amongst ourselves the brutish commissars of Soviet Russia. We belong to a great Commonwealth. We have inherited a legacy, and our heritage has been the free institutions of Great Britain. Great Britain has transgressed, but she has reared from the ashes of her own shame a great temple of faith and a great tabernacle of democracy. I trust that we in our Parliaments throughout the Empire will preserve and retain for ourselves, the representatives of the people, the inalienable rights of control, so that we may hand on to our children the same legacy of faith and hope.

**Shri S. V. Krishnamoorthy Rao:** Mr. Chairman, I was responsible for having this subject included amongst the list of subjects to be debated at this Conference. I am grateful for the opportunity given to me to initiate the debate today, and to sum up now. I thank Delegates for the parts that they have played in the debate and for the very valuable suggestions that they have made. Statutory corporations in the future will have a very important role in economic development. That is not disputed. However, I was a little surprised at the attitude of Mr. Robens and of the Delegates from Africa.

I am second to none in holding the view that there should be no parliamentary interference in the day-to-day affairs of statutory corporations. But Parliament should



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be the final arbiter where public moneys are spent by statutory bodies. Interference, if any, by the Parliament when something goes wrong will be very necessary; the actions of statutory bodies should be for the public welfare. The Parliament cannot divest itself of its right to interfere when the occasion arises.

It is up to us to take the various suggestions that have been made here to our respective Governments and Parliaments and to see that we obtain some benefit from the experiences of other countries.

*The Conference then adjourned.*



## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND DEFENCE

THE Seventh Session of the Conference began on Friday, 6th November, at 2 p.m., when the Rt. Hon. Robert G. Menzies, C.H., Q.C., M.P., Prime Minister of the Australian Commonwealth, opened the discussion on "International Affairs and Defence". The Chairman of the Council presided.

At this and the succeeding Session the Delegation from the Senate of the United States of America was present and took part in the discussion.

**The Prime Minister of the Commonwealth of Australia, the Rt. Hon. Robert Menzies, C.H., Q.C., M.P.:** Mr. Chairman, when I looked at this item on the agenda and discovered that I had to deal with it in half an hour, I felt very much as Sir Winston Churchill records himself as having felt the first time he undertook to paint a picture. He took a piece of canvas, he set it up on the easel, he took a rather fine brush and he made one little blob of colour on the canvas and then wondered where to go next. All I can do this afternoon is to put a little blob or two on the canvas, but my comfort is that at least forty other people will speak on this matter before the discussion is concluded, and they will not merely fill in the gaps in what I say, but will, I anticipate, paint most of the picture.

I do not undertake to give any comprehensive survey of these two vast problems, but I would like to say just a few things about them which may, perhaps, give rise to some discussion. It is nothing to the purpose for me to talk about the defence policy of any country, including my own, because we represent a vast variety of countries, each of them with its own problems. We represent a community of nations, each of which has its own problems of international relations. Therefore, perhaps, it is rather more to the point not to localize this matter, but rather to say something of a general kind about some problems which we may have in common. Of course, we have many points of view in common. Every nation represented here this afternoon is devoted to parliamentary self-government. It is conscious of the fact that popular self-government is the protector of freedom. No country represented here entertains any ideas of aggressive action against any other country. All our defensive preparations are preparations against aggression and not for it. Of course, underneath all of this we have in common a recognition of the fact that the choice between peace and war at any place or in the world as a whole is not in our hands, but in the hands of countries which do not enjoy self-government, which have yielded their mastery into the hands of one person or a few people and have, unhappily, abandoned themselves to a creed which is, in its nature, aggressive and which aims at the domination and, indeed, the ultimate control of the rest of the world.

The first thing I want to say, against that background, is that occasionally one is conscious of the fact that we are tempted to put international political policy and defence policy into watertight compartments. I want to make it quite clear, speaking for myself, that I think this is an impossible and, indeed, an undesirable task. It is not correct to say that it is the business of foreign policy to keep the peace, to keep us out of war, and the business of defence, in quite a separate compartment, to prepare for war, because the two are, in fact, inseverable. The political art cannot be divorced from the military art. I am going to give an example of this. I give it with infinite respect for our distinguished visitors from the United States of America whom we are all so delighted to see here. I believe that it is becoming increasingly recognized by observers, both inside the United States and outside it, that if the invasion of Europe in the final phase of the last war had been conducted with a clear eye to the political significance of the campaign, the Russians would probably not have been lodged in Berlin or in Prague, and the whole postwar history of Europe would have been changed.

There is a rather cynical remark which was attributed to Briand speaking to Lloyd George—a very receptive audience, I have no doubt, for this purpose. Briand is reputed to have said, "War is much too serious a matter to be left to military men". And the first time one read that remark it seemed like the ultimate cynicism; yet it indicated a very great truth.

War is, in our century, no longer a contest fought by armed forces, with civilians as supporters or spectators. It is a contest of peoples, with enormous civilian casualties. Its whole purpose is political. Great political policies will direct and use military force.



The politician, the representative of his country, the chosen man or men of the country, will control, and must control, what is to be done and where it is to be done. How it is done on the spot is a matter for the military expert.

Those considerations, I venture to say, are of basic importance now that we have entered a period of history, where war is total war and where people who have nothing to do with the bearing of arms may be the very first casualties in the struggle. Now, Sir, in recent times, within the memory of most of us here, the dictators have deliberately employed force as an instrument of policy. I suppose we have all used that phrase from time to time in describing it. But what it means is that they have used it as the prime means of achieving political domination of others—the end being the political domination of others. The fact that the rest of us—the nations not within that dictatorial orbit—have stood up against this kind of thing and have been compelled to maintain vast defensive armaments should not blind us to the need to recognize that even for us force can become an instrument of policy, though, in our case, it will not be the prime instrument, but the ultimate instrument. It will not be designed to create a domination of others, but to resist domination by others.

But although the purpose is different, although the whole spirit is different, we would do badly if we thought of the use of force—the ultimate action—as something which is divorced from politics or can be dissociated from political ends. It is, in reality, an instrument of policy. In any war, and we all pray that we shall never see another one, all of us, or some of us—it depends entirely on circumstances—will be seeking to achieve some political end, whether that political end is assured freedom against aggression, which is a great political end, independent self-government, which is a great and noble political end, or the preservation of individual freedom, which is the greatest pursuit to which mankind can devote itself.

Those are political ends, and any war that is fought except for political ends of that kind is a bad war and an unjust one. But any war that is fought for them is something which justifies itself by its political qualities. That is why I begin by saying to you that we must not separate political policy in the international field from defence policy at home. We cannot do it.

After the war a very remarkable book was written by a young Australian, whom I knew very well, Chester Wilmot, who has, unhappily and tragically, died since. He says something—and I take leave to quote it—to reinforce what I have just been saying about the invasion of Europe and what would now appear to be the errors made. I say this, of course, with the greatest possible respect, but it is a point of view, and I think that underneath it all there is a powerful truth. He said:

Roosevelt's death revealed the gap between his hopes and the realities of the situation; but it did not create that gap. This has been created already by his failure—and that of his Chiefs of Staff—to take account of postwar political factors in the determination of Allied strategy. . . . At the risk of over-simplification it may be said that the traditional attitude of the people of the United States to the recurrent conflicts in Europe is that war as a means of national policy is morally wrong. Consequently, the United States, if driven to war in self-defence or to uphold the right, should seek no national advantage or aggrandisement.

I just intervene there to say that perhaps this would be more explanatory if one added, "and should not seek to avoid any national disadvantage", because that is implicit in the whole of this consideration. Chester Wilmot goes on:

Her sole purpose should be to bring about the defeat and punishment of the aggressor. Her aim should be Victory, nothing else. Since America fights for no political objective except peace, no political directives should be given to American commanders in the field. . . . To pursue a political aim is to practise imperialism.

Now, Sir, that may be an overstated case; but year by year I have become conscious of the fact that thoughtful people in the great United States of America have more and more been reflecting upon the significance of those considerations. And it is perfectly true that if we had thought a little more of political objectives at that time—all of us, because most of us are being wise after the event—then it might well



be that the present state of Europe, in which there are enslaved communities, in which there is division in Berlin itself, in which there is a divided Germany, in which you have all those constant causes of resentment, of tension, would not have been the same. That is the first major matter to which I want to direct your attention, Sir.

I want to say something about another matter which is prominently in our minds—the problem of nuclear war. Is there a danger of nuclear war? That is to say, is there a danger of a great global contest of mutual self-destruction? I myself would think that the danger was not great, because the consequences are too well known, but of course we may still have such a tragedy by accident—who knows how some accident may occur?—or by the spreading of nuclear weapons over too many countries. I must say that I get a certain amount of comfort from the fact that the nuclear deterrent is in a few hands only, because the more hands it is in the more the chances of getting a silly pair of hands will increase.

If the nuclear deterrent is now mutual, and it appears to be, then we are asked, “Would not it be wise to suspend further tests and to destroy existing stocks?” As to the suspension of further tests, which I think is a consummation devoutly to be wished, there are still two elements. We are perhaps a little inclined to oversimplify these matters, but there are two things about every nuclear weapon. One is the charge and the other is the vehicle. There appears to be a considerable amount of experimentation going on in the world at present with the vehicle. In fact, you can now send the vehicle around the moon, I hope with no particular harm to the moon, but at any rate you can do it. You may now go into space and by suitable controls deposit your vehicle, provided it does not burn up, at any indicated spot on the surface of the earth. If we are to have a suspension of the testing of what I will call nuclear and thermo-nuclear warheads, we certainly need to have some international approach to the problem of experimentation in space with the vehicle that takes the charge.

In the second place, I have heard people say that it would be a wonderful thing for the world, if all knowledge of the nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapon were blotted out of the mind of man, and all stocks destroyed. I content myself by pointing out to everybody that, if that happened, the military power of the Soviet Union would dominate the entire world, because in what we are now graciously pleased to call conventional arms and conventional forces she has an overwhelming preponderance. We have some reason to be thankful that in this decade of aggression on her part there has been the powerful deterrent of the nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapon.

It may, of course, be that with the disappearance or the prospective disappearance of global nuclear war, the dangers of limited war will increase. They will not necessarily diminish. On the contrary, those who are reluctant to involve themselves in a nuclear war may be all the more encouraged to operate in the local field, on the local scene, hoping and designing that this will not lead to a world conflict. It is because of this that so many of us, including my own country, must maintain substantial outlays on defensive forces of a conventional kind. But, Sir, all that is in a sense speculative. However, it is a speculation which is based upon the fact that there is no aggression coming from any country represented in this Chamber today, and therefore the threat of aggression comes from outside. How is it to be met? We have a vast interest ourselves in how it is to be met. We have to our north countries of Asia which have not fallen under the Communist sway and which we pray never will. They have a right to their place in the sun. They have the right to avoid being dominated by these aggressors.

As we look at that matter, we see that there are various ways in which there is to be a resistance to such a tragic march. A powerful consideration is the improvement of the economic position of the threatened people. Something that we frequently overlook, because we are so devoted to material matters and to economic considerations, is that resistance can be made by demonstrating the spiritual superiority of democracy and its emphasis upon human rights. That is something that we must never forget. We must not too readily assume that men are just material animals, seeking just to live and to be well fed. We must remember that they have a spirit. There is an appeal, on the part of our form of government, to the spirit of men which no dictator could ever make.



We must have, of course, behind all that our own domestic defence policies to enable us and our friends to put up a resistance, should aggression be overt. We in Australia—I know that this is not the view of everybody; I know, for example, that my very distinguished friend the Prime Minister of India pursues a policy of non-alignment; I am familiar with his views, and I have the greatest respect for them—but here in Australia we are believers in treaty arrangements like the South-East Asia Treaty and our pact with the United States of America and New Zealand, known as the A.N.Z.U.S. Pact, because although those treaties have military value they also have a superb moral value in indicating to the aggressive elements in the world that they are not going to divide and conquer, that they are not going to take people or nations one by one and deal with them, until finally a few strongholds of freedom are left in the world, and only a few.

We believe that in unity, in agreement, we secure a strength that not one of us, standing by himself, could possibly achieve. Nobody outside of a lunatic asylum believes for one moment that any of these agreements are aggressive. That is an absurd conception. Frankly, I have never believed the legend that in Moscow or in Peking they think that these are instruments of aggression. They may say that they do. I do not believe it, and you do not believe it, for a minute.

Sir, the only other matter that I want to say a word about is the much discussed prospect of a Summit Meeting. In this Parliament—on both sides of it—we are great advocates of a Summit Meeting. Speaking for myself, my advocacy of it does not involve any starry-eyed belief in the 100 per cent. good faith of the Soviet leaders. We have no reason to suppose that any such miracle has suddenly happened. Nor, Sir, does my advocacy of a Summit Meeting involve any belief that the Soviet wishes to begin a major war of mutual self-destruction, and that a Summit Meeting is the last desperate throw to avoid it. I do not believe either of those things. In fact, if my opinion is of the slightest value from your point of view, I think that all the talk of a Summit Meeting has been much too formalized—as if a species of well-advertised, much-photographed and daily publicized peace Conference was going to occur. I confess—I hope it is not undemocratic—that in my opinion mass Conferences achieve very little.

The right kind of Summit Conference is a meeting of the men carrying the ultimate responsibility in their own countries. I do not want to see an army of officials, masses of brass bands and photographers. Photographers are terrible people, anyhow, if you look like me! We do not want to have that kind of thing. What is needed is that the chosen leaders of the great countries should sit down together and talk to each other like men—not engaging in publicity stunts, not engaging in propaganda for the assembled multitudes of reporters, but sitting down and talking to each other like men. It is a great pity that the whole thing should have become so formalized that when the Summit Meeting occurs—and of course it will—you will see four men practically disappearing in the middle of a positive army of people, all asking for an advance copy of the speech, all going around afterwards and saying, “What did he say and did you tick him off?” Oh dear! That is no good. Let the four of them have dinner together, put their feet up on the table and talk.

Do not let us encourage ourselves with the foolish idea that there is going to be a great Summit Meeting and then everything in the garden will be lovely, because it will not. You cannot solve the bitter problems of this world in one meeting. Why should not the leaders of the great powers in the world get into the habit of dropping in to talk with each other three or four times a year, with no fuss? Every time there is a little matter of friction, why should not they ring up and say, “I am coming in the morning”. It is to make these things informal and human that is the great task.

Sir, a speech even of this discursive kind cannot very well finish without saying something about disarmament. I have referred to nuclear and conventional forces. I just want to offer one more view, and it is this. We are a little bit disposed, so great is our bent for logical classification, to say that the existence of vast armaments is the cause of the tension in the world, and that if you could do something about armaments the cause of the tension would disappear. That is just not true. I do not mean to say that the existence of enormous armaments obviously designed for some purposes of



aggression, and provoking, therefore, enormous armaments of a defensive kind, does not produce a state of affairs which is undesirable. The prime causes of tension in the world are not to be found in military camps, but in the policies of statesmen. The enslavement, the subjugation, of many millions of people who were once free in Europe and an example of freedom to the world, is the very opposite to the process of which we are all, I believe, so proud—the process by which Great Britain has moved from an old colonial empire into a Commonwealth in which self-government has become the established pattern. This is the process of converting colonialism into independent nationhood, and it is a great process. It is one of the great events in the twentieth century. And while that has been going on, the opposite process, from the time when the war ended, has gone on in Poland, in Czechoslovakia—the home of Jan Masaryk—and in Hungary also. These are terrible things.

How can there be any abolition of tension in the world while such tyrannies continue? How can there be any abolition of tension in the world, if the great Communist leaders make no secret of the fact that Communism is designed for the world, and that it proposes to conquer the world, if not by force of arms, by any other means that may be presented to it? How can there be any abolition of tension, and therefore any secure peace, if we fail to recognize that one of the great causes of tension is the denial of peaceful coexistence by the very people who have so loudly professed to advocate it? Peaceful coexistence involves a recognition of the fact that every country, every nation, should be the master of its own destiny, design its own form of government, and pursue its own life. Therefore, “peaceful” and “coexistence” are the two operative words, each of them so powerful, each of them so brutally denied, particularly in modern European history, but also in Asian history, in one or two areas in South-East Asia.

So my last word is this, and I apologize for having gone over my time. When men of affairs from a vast variety of countries meet together, full of their own historical experience, full in many cases of a just pride in what has been achieved in modern times, it is very natural that we should place an immense emphasis on independence. I think that one of the great things that we have to learn as we contemplate the picture of the world—international relations, the problems of aggression, and the problems of defence—is that in this day not one of us is independent in the ultimate sense. We are interdependent. We contribute the quality and spirit of our own independence to a broad interdependence, of which the Commonwealth is the greatest example in history.

**Rt. Hon. Earl Attlee, K.G., O.M., C.H. (*United Kingdom*):** Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates, it is obviously a very difficult thing to follow a Prime Minister. I am accustomed, of course, to attacking a Prime Minister when I speak. But this is no occasion for that. I have the advantage, in following a Prime Minister today, that he has made a broad sweep of world conditions. In his last sentences, he has brought me to the first point that I wanted to make: that, throughout this Conference of representatives of independent sovereign States, we have, in effect, been discussing our interdependence. As the Prime Minister said, we have had the evolution of the old empire into a Commonwealth. On every occasion when one of the constituent States wanted to get full freedom in the Commonwealth, one thing that we had to be assured of was that it could look after its defence. The curious thing today is that there is no such thing as national defence in this world of hydrogen bombs.

I also submit that the conception of the independent sovereign State in the world today is an anomaly. It comes hard for those who have only just attained independence to realize that the march of events that has brought independence to so many countries has, at the same time, reduced the world to a condition in which it is inevitable that there must be some surrender of sovereignty.

I was present in 1945 at the San Francisco Conference that made the United Nations. We made the United Nations primarily to rid the world of fear. We have not succeeded. It is of no use to suggest that excellent things have been done by the United Nations—that it has done this, that and the other thing. It has not dealt with the primary matter. It is as if you said, “I have a very fine motor car. It is all right for



keeping chickens in, but I cannot put it on the road". That is about the position. That is what we are facing today.

The question is, not what is going to be done at the Summit, but what is going to be done in the foothills. I am not awfully enthusiastic about thinking that all the world's problems can be settled by four or five people. It is not very democratic, you know. I think it is about time that the people in the foothills had a voice, because they will suffer if there is a world war. I agree with the Prime Minister; I do not think it is likely that we shall have a world war, provided that we do not allow the extension of weapons of mass destruction into more and more irresponsible hands. But that does not mean that we have reached a peaceful solution to world problems. It may mean that we can make a stride forward because we recognize the utter futility of war.

We still have disarmament Conferences. We still have earnest people who say how nice it would be, if only we could do away with the hydrogen bomb. But the abolition of one weapon only promotes another. Abolish the bomb; abolish the shell; abolish the rifle; and you come down to fists. As the Prime Minister has indicated, at every stage there is an advantage to some particular country. That has been the history of disarmament Conferences. One country must have the battleship. Another must have this, and another must have that.

It is time we realized that we are in a world of anarchy as long as we have this insistence on the absolute right of sovereign power. Not one of you, in your own country, allows any citizen to adopt this concept of absolute power. Directly you enter into a community, you give away the right to make your own private war. You give away the right to carry arms, and you submit to the rule of law, backed by a police force. I have long maintained that the world must come to that. Well before the Second World War, I belonged, as did Sir Winston Churchill, to an organization which advocated the abolition of national armaments and the formation of a world police force. Now, our Government in the United Kingdom, with great courage, has declared for total disarmament.

I believe that you must have the total abolition of national armaments. But you cannot have that unless you substitute something for the arbitrament of arms. That means that you must have an authority—not a debating society, but a properly constituted authority—whose word will be law in the world. You must have an authority which can take decisions and enforce them. People say that you cannot do that, because of the great ideological contest in the world. Well, I have seen something of that. We had a pretty stiff time after the war. We had to take action in Berlin and in Korea. I think that prospects are much better now, not because of some miraculous change of heart, but because of realism on the part of the rulers of Russia. They realize that, if it comes to a war, what they call their civilization will go down just as much as will ours.

The Russians are making an economic success. Their minds being entirely material in outlook, they believe that economic success will enable them to spread their doctrines throughout the world. I have not the slightest fear of meeting the Communists on the ideological basis, because I think that our way of life is better. There are indications, I think, that, owing to that prosperity and to that measure of success, they are turning away from this idea of military domination, believing that they are now strong enough to win on the ideological basis.

Then there is China. China is still in an awkward position. The Chinese are showing that sign of imperialism that so often accompanies nationalism. They are giving trouble to our Indian friends, and they will have to be stopped. Then, of course, it is difficult to make the Chinese realize that they have to obey the laws of the club when you will not let them into it. That is why I believe you must have China in the club. You still have the problem—the problem that was put forward so forcibly by the Prime Minister—of the nations that are under domination today. I do not believe anybody thinks you could make war to release them. I think they will release themselves in time. Very often there are signs—encouraging signs have already appeared in Poland and elsewhere, and in Russia itself—that in the process of time they, too, will begin to reassert themselves. The spirit of man is moving in Russia as elsewhere



and tyrannies can be decayed from within often much more effectively than by attacks from without, in which the tyranny is able to pose as patriotism.

My short word is this. Speaking as an old person now, but looking at the progress of the world as I have seen it, with some advances and some grave retrogressions, I say that we have got to look at the logic of facts. The fact that we could come here from Britain in under sixty hours is propinquity. You know, that has brought individual men to submit their wills to that of a community, substitute their own private forces, put in their place the rule of law and the police force. Propinquity has now come to all of us in the world. We all equally are in danger. We all equally have a prospect of going ahead. I would like the nations, that so often have no say at all in these world struggles but get sacrificed, to take action to make the United Nations a reality, and let us all live unarmed under the rule of law.

One last word: some people say you will never achieve that, because the ideologies are irreconcilable. Remember that after thirty years of war in Germany between Protestants and Catholics they eventually had to sit down and agree to live together!

**The Chairman:** Before calling on Senator Keating of the United States of America to speak, I would like on behalf of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association to extend a welcome to the American Delegation and to say how pleased we are that the members of that Delegation have been able to make this trip in order to help us in the work of the Conference. We regret that the American House of Representatives has not found it possible to send some of its Members here, but having a high appreciation of the Senate I know that the American Congress will be well represented. I want the members of the American Delegation to feel that they are very welcome here. We want you to join in these discussions in the confidence that you are among friends, and we know that your contributions to the discussions will be valuable ones.

**Senator Kenneth B. Keating (U.S. Senator from New York, U.S.A.):** Mr. Chairman and Delegates to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, first, I want to thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your cordial greeting. I assure you that, during the short time we have been here in Australia, we have enjoyed the most abundant hospitality. I am deeply privileged and honoured to be a member of this Delegation. Since I am in Australia, I will do something which I would not do in the United States. I shall seek to speak not only for the Senate but also for the Representatives. As a former Representative myself, I think it is fair to say that we have in general friendly relations with them.

In this group we are all speaking a common language in one respect in that we have all been elected by the people to our respective positions. We have all gone through the vicissitudes of political campaigns.

We hear a lot about space these days. We heard references to it by the previous speakers. The emphasis seems to be always on the scientific side, the astronomical side. Minds and energies are committed to break through to other planets, to reach for the stars. But here in Australia I have become acutely conscious of the importance of the conquest of space on earth; that is to say, I rather like the idea of being launched by jet into the sky over Washington and being shot half-way round the world to land, not among strangers but among friends with whom we have much in common.

One of my friends suggested that the reason why the United States was invited to send a Delegation to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference was to get America back into the British Empire! Well, the wonderful hospitality we have enjoyed since our arrival here, I confess, is certainly a very powerful temptation. But, Gentlemen, we must not yield!

I believe the real reason is that all of us here have been voted for and elected by the people of the free democratic nations to represent them in the legislative assemblies which are charged with the responsibility of safeguarding liberty.

Ours is a responsibility of formulating legislation which will ensure the development of social, economic and political conditions under which men can live in peace and avoid the catastrophe of war. We have a common heritage in the legislative



procedures which protect the rights of man. We evaluate problems and vote for national and federal laws and we have become increasingly aware that no nation stands alone and that all are affected by international affairs which transcend national boundary lines.

The subject of the Conference, this afternoon and tomorrow—international affairs and defence—is deeply revealing of the pattern which has developed in international relations in recent times. Almost all these patterns are concerned with defence in one form or another, because of the pressures exerted by aggressive policies aimed at world conquest by the Communist bloc.

Following World War II the United States began a large-scale demobilization of its armed forces and offered plans for the international control of atomic energy. We hoped to benefit, along with other nations, in an orderly and rational development of international relations in accordance with the concepts set forth in the United Nations Charter. By 1948, however, when the Communists took over Czechoslovakia, the threatening signs of new totalitarian objectives were clear for all to see. Realizing that world peace and the survival of our free institutions could not be safeguarded by a policy of unilateral disarmament, the United States developed a deterrent military policy. This is the policy of peace through strength in which all democracies and free nations have a stake. It has been implemented by regional treaties and agreements and by an ever-increasing exchange of technical and cultural contacts which have promoted mutual confidence and trust. At the same time, armaments have been developed like a police force in readiness to resist aggression and to use against aggression, if need be. The United States has never ceased to work in the United Nations for the control of armaments. I am sure you are all familiar with the long history of the obstructions encountered in achieving adequate inspection of armaments.

During the development of the deterrent military policy, advances in science and technology have resulted in the production of weapons and systems of increased fire power and destruction. Intercontinental and intermediate ballistic missiles with nuclear warheads are now part of the arsenal of both democracies and the Communist bloc. All rational men have come to realize that a war fought with such weapons would destroy the very institutions and conditions we are fighting to preserve. That the peace of the world should rest upon a balance of terror has caused grave uneasiness among the people of the world. Fear of a surprise attack, or even that a global war might start by accident in the handling of weapons, which could destroy civilization, are paramount problems for the statesmen of the world.

We are faced with the necessity of finding new, vigorous, positive ways of defending a world society in which conflicts among nations can be settled by the peaceful adjudication of disputes. Above all, since the foreign policy problems of every nation are mainly those of human relations, we are faced with the necessity of devising patterns of co-operation which will increase mutual trust and confidence among nations. At the very time when it may have seemed to us that there was an imbalance between the military and non-military ways of working for peace, vital new forces were released in international affairs by the advent of the age of space exploration. We have been given new tools, not only for exploring the universe, but also for developing new patterns for working together on projects which promise untold benefits for all mankind.

The space age began during the International Geophysical Year when the scientists of sixty-six nations co-operated in peacetime projects. When satellites circle the globe in orbits which do not heed national boundary lines, they create some situations which can only be met by international co-operation. No single nation contains within its own borders the range of latitude and longitude essential for adequate tracking of signals from space vehicles. Agreement must be reached between nations concerning the construction and operation of ground observing stations located throughout the world in accordance with scientific requirements. Problems of international law will be involved in the re-entry of space vehicles into the atmosphere and their landing on earth, and these must be the subject of negotiation and agreement.

Space exploration includes other factors which can be used to develop patterns



of international co-operation. Many nations—not just a few—have scientific talent and resources to contribute to the exploration of space. Co-operation in this great venture can be advanced by the exchange of scientific personnel and information, by research projects jointly undertaken between nations, and by international sponsorship of launchings. As law-makers, we must be ready to face the fact that science and technology will have a terrific impact on the conduct of international affairs in the future. If we can formulate wise policies, if national laws can be brought into harmony with international requirements, we may be able to prevent the extension of national rivalries into outer space.

Last December, the United Nations established an *ad hoc* committee on the peaceful uses of outer space which concluded its unanimous report to the General Assembly in June of this year. Although eighteen nations were given representation on the committee, five decided not to participate in the survey. I hope that they will be brought around to the point where they will feel that such participation is desirable. The United States Congress passed a resolution, unanimously, last year endorsing the principle of the use of outer space for peaceful purposes. While this is a major interest, involving scientific developments, we can expect many branches of science to affect the conduct of international affairs in the future. Advances in public health and medicine are likely to have a great influence on population problems. Science may also have answers for those nations which are primarily concerned with problems of food and of economic and social development.

As legislators, we are faced with a tremendous challenge. The subject matter of science and technology is highly technical. Scientists are not used to making laws and perhaps few legislators are scientists. But if we do not learn how to control the impact of science and technology upon society, then we may find ourselves controlled by the onrush of developments eluding our grasp. We have a new dimension in the universe, and we have new tools for achieving peace. We who have been chosen by the people to ensure the preservation of their freedoms have the grave responsibility of formulating and passing on new policies.

The members of this Association and the United States have many common objectives, common aspirations, common hopes, and common ideals. We have a unique community of interests. It is true that we have had in the past, and that we will have in the future, minor differences on this or that policy, but in the final analysis the members of this Association and the United States of America will stand shoulder to shoulder, as we have stood in the past, to defend, strengthen and perpetuate those things in which we believe and which God grant we may continue to have.

**Mr. H. O. White, M.P. (Canada):** Mr. Chairman, Mr. Prime Minister, and fellow Delegates, I feel humble at following such a great array of distinguished speakers this afternoon, but at the same time I am proud to represent Canada in such distinguished company. I want to comment on the address that was just delivered by Senator Keating and to tell the Conference here that there is complete and friendly understanding, not only on defence matters, but also on many other matters, between Canada and the United States.

It is indeed a privilege to be in Australia to participate in this Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference. As one Canadian Delegate, I welcome the opportunity afforded by this Conference to exchange ideas and to strengthen the bonds of friendship and understanding. Fundamentally, the absence of understanding and the ambitions of men in high places are the forerunners of war.

The Commonwealth of Nations occupies a unique position in this troubled world. It is my opinion that we, the Commonwealth, can, if united in purpose, exercise a tremendous influence for peace in the world. In the first place, history since 1914 has indicated that we have no territorial ambitions. In point of fact, more people have, without violence or rebellion, achieved freedom and self-rule within the Commonwealth than by any other ways or means. While exploring this subject, we should also consider the consequences should our loosely knit Commonwealth be torn asunder. We are, therefore, probably the greatest single factor in the world for peace.



Neutrality does not guarantee peaceful coexistence. Events of recent weeks illustrate graphically the truth of that statement. The Commonwealth occupies a strategic position because of our geography. Not alone by position do we wield a balance of power between the two great world powers, the U.S.S.R. on one hand and the U.S.A. on the other. The power is, in a sense, not military but moral.

Trade is increasingly important as a factor in Commonwealth understanding. This avenue of understanding should be explored with increasing tempo. I am quite certain that trade leads inevitably to improved relations between nations. Canada's Commonwealth trade increased by \$88 million in 1958.

Possibly at this stage I could speak of our position on international affairs. We of the Commonwealth believe in the Commonwealth, and we are proud of it. We believe in the principles and articles set forth in the United Nations Charter, and we support the United Nations. This organization is not perfect. Too often it has been the sounding board for political propaganda. It is, however, the best instrument yet devised to solve peacefully the problems of a complex and troubled world. Let me again proclaim the United Nations as the keystone of Canada's international or foreign policy. We are not unmindful of, nor have we forgotten, the tragedy of Hungary, due in part to the fact that the nations admitted to the United Nations ignored, because of political expediency, the high ideals set forth in the United Nations Charter. Let us not forget that peace without freedom would be a mockery and denial of all that democracy stands for. I reiterate that neutrality, weakness, or lack of policy is not a guarantee of peace and security. In fact, events since 1945 have proven the opposite to be the case.

Therefore, we believe in and wholeheartedly support N.A.T.O. as a united armed group of nations with a purpose, that purpose being to defend—I emphasize the word “defend”—our several countries against armed aggression. Lack of defence has invited—nay, caused—the overthrow and domination of many lands by Communist forces. N.A.T.O. has no territorial ambitions. Canada has everything to gain by peace and nothing to win by war. Again I say that if N.A.T.O. were an aggressive group of nations, Canada would not be a partner.

A look at the map of the northern hemisphere will convince you of Canada's peculiarly dangerous geographic position, situated directly on the air lanes between the U.S.S.R. and U.S.A., sparsely settled, with vast distances and thousands of miles of coastline. Should a war develop, which God forbid, between these two great powers, Canada would instantly become a battleground. I interpose here that of Canada's recent budgets, amounting to \$5,000 million, very nearly \$2,000 million were earmarked for national defence.

You in Australia are somewhat similarly located. You no doubt are as interested in S.E.A.T.O. as we are in N.A.T.O. Isolated as you are in a sense, but adjacent to huge Asian populations, World War II emphasized for you that with modern transportation no nation can stand alone and be without defence. The pity of this, however, is that the fantastic price of defence could, otherwise applied, mean a higher standard of living to every citizen of the world.

Canada subscribes to the Colombo Plan. We believe, as did Abraham Lincoln, that man should be free. We believe in the Colombo Plan as a means of assisting in a small way the alleviation of want and need, by education, by assisting in providing food and shelter, and by helping underprivileged and underdeveloped countries to improve their economies.

Here I digress to point out that Australia and Canada have, in a relatively short period of time, built up and maintained a high living standard. You may ask how this was accomplished. First, the individual was and is free to choose his way of life and his vocation. He has also known that, as he laboured and prospered, the fruits of his labour would be his to enjoy. In other words, resources plus hard work were the stepping stones to our prosperity. No country is endowed with limitless resources. It becomes the duty of government to encourage diligence and productive employment advantageously applied to the resources at hand and, having done that, to ensure as far as possible that labour is not in vain. There is no substitute for incentive.



Canadians do not seek the loyalty and co-operation of other independent countries by providing dollars. Neither do we believe in a Colombo Plan that extends into perpetuity. Nay, we seek to so aid our brothers in the Commonwealth that they, of their own labours applied to their own vast resources, may enjoy an ever-improving living standard. In short, I am trying to stress the concrete steps taken by the Commonwealth Trade and Economic Conference held in Montreal a little over a year ago.

Possibly I have digressed too long and strayed too far; however, we also have undeveloped regions and resources. As I said earlier in my remarks, we have no territorial ambitions. I can say this for Canada; I think it is true of the entire Commonwealth. We seek to live and develop our resources and economies in peace. Peace, however, is not solely the absence of war. Disarmament on our part is not a guarantee of peace. It would almost assuredly be a guarantee of aggression. Consequently, unilateral action alone is not the answer. Not since the close of the Second World War has there been a month without evidence of encroachment from without, somewhere in the world. In addition, the boring from within continues without cessation. The Communist world talks of peace and disarmament at the United Nations and Geneva. But what goes on in Tibet, on the borders of India and in many other places? These are all tender spots in the world. The constant probing for weaknesses and the insidious propaganda, so easily sold to people seeking a better life, are the weapons of the Communists.

We must continue to be armed, and well armed, with the best defence it is possible to provide. But there is another and, to my mind, more serious side to this picture—I mean the cold economic war that is being waged for world markets. Costs in a totalitarian State are not computed on the same scale of values as we in the Commonwealth use. Recently, the word “disengagement” became the jargon of disarmament. Disengagement does not guarantee anything. There must be agreement backed by effective safeguards that the people of the East and the West can trust. Canada welcomes any and every meeting with Russia in the hope that understanding and good sense on both sides will prevail. We believe that we could coexist, provided there were adequate guarantees and safeguards. Canada cannot defend herself alone, not with today’s fast-moving deadly weapons. Consequently, we have our alliance with N.A.T.O. to resist aggression from Eastern Europe.

Today, in this world, there is no such thing as isolation, nor in my estimation is there neutrality. Whether we like it or not, the events in the history of the past fourteen years compel us to seek defence in strength. I am certain that every country in the Commonwealth desires a peaceful existence for its citizens. Our aims are alike. Repeated failures to achieve universal agreement with the East have resulted in fear, suspicion, dismay and more than anything else a distrust, deep-seated, that all this talk is in vain.

If agreement on disarmament could be achieved, moneys now poured in an endless stream into weapons of defence could be used to provide for all mankind the four freedoms envisaged by the late President Roosevelt, but particularly freedom from want and freedom from fear. The terrible nuclear-age weapons of destruction make it imperative that mankind to survive must agree, or perish. Promises are easily broken; hence the need for iron-clad guarantees backed by adequate inspection. Why are we in the Commonwealth so insistent upon guarantees and inspection? Each nation inside and out of the Commonwealth is judged by its deeds. Every attempt at Geneva and elsewhere to assure the world of a solution of the problem has been met with counterproposals and propaganda on the part of Russia, without controls or guarantees.

Canada has consistently supported comprehensive plans for disarmament, including the suspension of the testing of nuclear weapons. The fear of nuclear fall-out is real. Subversive elements in our countries have attempted to use this fear as another propaganda weapon. The cessation of tests does not prevent the stockpiling of nuclear weapons. Canada is prepared, along with the Western powers, to limit the size of armed forces and to ban the use of nuclear weapons except, and then only if attacked, for defence purposes. Canada for years has been, and continues to be, exploring and providing atomic power and the materials for peaceful uses. Our recently appointed



Secretary of State for External Affairs, the Hon. Howard Green, a veteran Parliamentarian and diplomat, as were his predecessors, is a man devoted and dedicated to finding a peaceful solution of the world's problems. We will endeavour to keep diplomacy in step with the great strides of scientific research.

Everyone at this Conference, and our various Governments and peoples, hopes that the search for a certain means to ensure the peace of the world will continue. It is not a question only of peace; it is also a question of survival.

**Dr. the Rt. Hon. Herbert V. Evatt, Q.C., M.P. (Leader of the Opposition, *Australian Commonwealth*):** Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates, I think it is perfectly plain from the speeches that have been delivered here this afternoon that there is fairly general agreement that an opportunity now lies before the peoples of the world for them to seize, if they really want it. Lord Attlee has referred to it, with certain conditions, of course, but it is undoubtedly there. We are to have a Summit Meeting of the great Powers. This is not easy to attain. The idea is in many ways novel, but the patience and the determination of the leaders of the great powers have enabled us to reach this stage. If that meeting goes well, it will take the peoples of the world along the road to which Lord Attlee has referred.

It is equally important to note that, simultaneously with the planning for the Summit Meeting, the United Nations has shown a most commendable and hopeful activity. Obviously, it must play a vital role in the attainment of world peace and a lasting settlement of the world's problems. The General Assembly in New York is now playing a most important role. The latest news is that the Political Committee, which is the chief committee of the General Assembly, with the support of all eighty-two members, has carried a resolution supporting efforts to break the long-standing deadlock over disarmament. This, of course, is probably the most important topic for a Summit Conference. For the first time in the history of the United Nations, the resolution has been sponsored by every member. The preamble to this great resolution and declaration contains this statement: "The question of general and complete disarmament is the most important one facing the world today."

It also calls upon Governments to make every effort to find a constructive solution to the problem. The problem, of course, has many aspects. I have with me—I do not propose to read them—figures showing the expenditure on armaments of the powers over the years. The expenditure is enormous. We cannot bear that expenditure and, at the same time, have the United Nations doing its duty to the peoples of the world who in their own countries face the tragedies of poverty, disease and all the ills that beset them. Much has been said of these circumstances during the Conference, and everyone is convinced that the need exists. One way of providing a solution of the problem is to tackle the question of the enormous expense of armaments, which is too great to be borne. Everyone knows this, and yet in the desperate emergency of today all the nations go on spending huge sums of money to build up their armaments. I do not seek to apportion praise or blame with regard to any particular aspect of the problem. I simply say that we have the choice before us. We have the opportunity to hold Summit talks, which in the past have been so difficult to arrange, but are now within sight. We find the United Nations Organization itself referring to the disarmament problem, from a slightly different angle but in full support of the objective of Summit talks.

It seems to me that what Lord Attlee said by way of criticism may be correct. I would suggest that one of the greatest difficulties that has been met with in the working of the United Nations has been the unconditional and absolute veto demanded by the great powers as the very condition of their entering the United Nations. There was a big fight, as Lord Attlee knows, and all others who were at San Francisco, on the part of the other nations to qualify the veto, so that in the end the majority rule would prevail. But no, this was not agreed to, and in that refusal all the great powers stood together. They may have differed from each other on certain aspects of the whole matter, but they stuck together for this right of each and every one of the five great powers, the permanent members of the Security Council—this absolute and unrestricted right to say to the Security Council, which has really the main control



in forcing the carrying out of decisions, "I dissent", in which case the whole Security Council, consisting of eleven members, would be helpless. All sorts of alternatives were suggested, and as the years went by it was found that one particular method had to be invented. This was at the time of the Korean war, when it was decided—in my opinion quite correctly—that the General Assembly had certain rights to recommend action. This was done by the General Assembly, despite the fact that the Security Council was not actively participating in the call for police action in Korea. What happened, of course, was the vindication of the United Nations and the vindication of the action of the General Assembly.

Difficulties of other kinds have arisen, but, taken by and large, the record of the United Nations in political matters has been a good one. It has settled many disputes. First of all, there was the dispute in regard to Mesopotamia. Then there was the great dispute over infiltration into Greece from the north by Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria. The United Nations decided to appoint a committee to go to the spot and find out the facts and report. The committee did so. The decision to appoint the committee had been made by the Security Council. The next time the matter came up, Soviet Russia vetoed the proposal, and the matter was taken to the General Assembly, which voted for precisely the same resolution as had been carried previously. The investigation went on, and after a long time—I think about eighteen or twenty months altogether—the case of Greece was accepted and the infiltrations ceased.

Many other cases could be cited by way of illustration. The problem concerning Israel was taken up by the United Nations. It seemed impossible to secure any solution, but through the activity of special committees and the work of Mr. Ralph Bunche, who was awarded a Nobel Prize for his great efforts, the matter was settled. Of course, the whole problem is not settled, but peace was brought to that troubled area at that time.

I make these observations not with any intention to elaborate the point fully, but in order to point out the difficulties that beset the United Nations Organization because of the absolute veto. It could not work in the period of what has been called the cold war. The cold war meant that, although the nations were technically at peace, there was obstruction from one side or the other, generally from the side of Soviet Russia, until action could not be taken through United Nations procedures. But since then the world has learned a lesson from the fact that, with the enormous advance of scientific knowledge, weapons are of such magnitude and strength that resistance is made practically impossible. As has been said by some of the distinguished Delegates at this Conference, neither side could expect to emerge victorious from a war at the present time. This is a fact that the world must face today.

What are we to do about it? We at this Conference are not without power. Many of the nations represented here are members of the United Nations. Since the war many nations have been added to the United Nations as well as to the Commonwealth. These include India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Ghana and Malaya, and of course others will be added to that list in the future. They will have a voice at the United Nations. But this Association can do and has done excellent work, and we can give assistance to those who are arranging for the Summit Conference. If we really mean business, I think the Summit talks can be arranged. We are awakening in our own countries a good measure of support for the Summit Conference. What would be the purpose of such a Conference? The purpose would be to remove tension and ultimately to end the cold war, which introduces an element of irresponsibility and almost madness into world affairs.

Not only nuclear weapons, but also powerful conventional weapons and all the elements of destructiveness are in the hands of many powers and many peoples. These problems can be tackled and I believe they are going to be tackled. We have had a sign from New York that the United Nations now views the problem with deadly earnestness, and we as an Association have a duty to help the United Nations. For the last five years at least, the party that I belong to in Australia has favoured Summit Conferences. We believe that, when the veto in the United Nations stands in the way, we should get the great powers together. This policy is now being adopted, and I



believe that great efforts are being made to implement it. We have had pronouncements which have been most encouraging.

I do not wish to deal with the historical aspects of what has been said by earlier speakers. Let me say, on behalf of many of us here, how much we are indebted to those who have spoken to us this afternoon. We have heard speeches that we will never forget, speeches analysing the concept of war and the relationship between war and political object or purpose. We have had an epoch-making address from Lord Attlee, which none of us can ever forget. I congratulate him upon it. I congratulate the Association upon the success of this meeting. I have been made hopeful by what has been said.

Before concluding I would like to read an extract from a book, recently published, by a person who was for so long a prominent friend and supporter of Lord Attlee. I refer to Philip Noel-Baker. He has recently written a book called *The Arms Race*, in which he quotes authorities to show that it is in the arms race itself and its consequences that we have probably the most fruitful cause of war. He quotes these remarks of Lord Grey:

Although this may be true, it is not the real and final account of the origin of the Great War. The enormous growth of armaments in Europe, the sense of insecurity and fear caused by them, it was these that made war inevitable.

Is not that exactly the position today? Is there not a sense of insecurity and fear springing from the same cause? Lord Grey went on to say:

This, it seems to me, is the truest reading of history and the lesson that the present should be learning from the past in the interests of future peace—a warning to be handed on to those who come after us.

This was said by the leading British statesman in these matters prior to the outbreak of the First World War.

I should like to give one other quotation from this book. He quotes from Winston Churchill's speech in the House of Commons during the Hitler regime as follows:

I cannot believe that, after armaments of all countries have reached a towering height, they will settle down and continue at a hideous level far above the present level—already crushing—and that that will be for many years a normal feature of the world routine. Whatever happens, I do not believe that. Europe is approaching a climax.

This was 1936, two years before the outbreak of World War II. He continues:

I believe that climax will be reached during the lifetime of the present Parliament. Either there will be a melting of hearts, and a joining of hands between great nations—which will set out to realize the glorious age of prosperity now within the reach of millions of toiling people—or there will be an explosion and a catastrophe the course of which no imagination can measure and no human eye can see.

That is the position as I see it today. Perhaps it is even more aggravated. I think we should take warning from this and act together to save the world—not only our own nations, but the men and the women and the children from every part of the world—from disaster, because the life of the smallest child of the country farthest from us, of which we know nothing, is as important to us as the life of our own beloved children.

**Hon. Philip O. S. Skoglund, M.P. (Minister of Education, New Zealand):** Mr. Chairman, it is one of the extraordinary features of New Zealand's position in international affairs that, although we have no substantial overseas territories, no imperial past, no expansionist ambitions, and although we are a small country of but 2,250,000 people, we are none the less faced with many of the difficulties that confront nations of much greater size with responsibilities that are world wide. This is true in two different fields. First, and more positively, we are intimately concerned with the overall problems of world living standards—a concern that relates particularly to the underdeveloped nations of the Commonwealth. Secondly, we are concerned with



international relations as such. So pervasive is the clash of political ideology, so immediate and widespread are the consequences of a threat to peace anywhere, that New Zealand is concerned with the situation in almost all areas of the world. We know—I think the people of New Zealand as a whole know—that we can no longer regard events abroad as in any way remote from New Zealand.

Our international involvement is, of course, conditioned by participation in various organizations with its attendant responsibilities—our membership of the Commonwealth, obligations under the S.E.A.T.O. Pact, relations with Australia and the U.S.A. under the A.N.Z.U.S. Pact, membership of the United Nations, plus our overriding concern for the protection of New Zealand's security and independence in general. So, small as New Zealand is, we cannot avoid the international problems of the day.

Before I refer to several of those problems which at present give cause for concern, it might be appropriate for me to refer to the role of the Commonwealth. No enumeration of New Zealand's international relationships is conceivable without reference to our membership of the Commonwealth. Why is it that we in New Zealand place such emphasis on the Commonwealth? The simple answer is that it has served us well in the past, continues to serve us well in the present, and promises to serve us even better in the future. Our needs and interests have changed with the changing Commonwealth.

Originating in the past are our close personal associations with the United Kingdom, from which country the bulk of our population is drawn, reliance on the United Kingdom as guardian in defence and external relations, and invaluable assistance and advice from the United Kingdom in the period of our assumption of full nationhood.

In the more recent period new factors have come into play, modifying or reinforcing the old. First, as our international responsibilities have grown, we have found ourselves assisted increasingly by exchanges of information with all Commonwealth countries. These multilateral exchanges, replacing the earlier bilateral exchanges, are one of the most hopeful trends in a Commonwealth where all members are now reaching or have reached complete adulthood.

Secondly, the Commonwealth is playing an increasingly valuable role in bringing together in informal family relationship countries of different race and different historical and cultural backgrounds. I need not emphasize how valuable a function we in New Zealand consider this to be, given the accidents of history and geography which make for us perhaps the main issue of this century the bridging of the gap between Eastern and Western cultural heritages and understanding among races.

Thirdly, at a period when the world has become increasingly organized into political blocs, intensifying the spectrum of political differences between countries, the Commonwealth provides a common and friendly meeting ground. Whatever our differences they have never approached in gravity those which have separated the Communist and non-Communist worlds. If wisdom has dictated that even the leaders of the Communist and non-Communist blocs should now be earnestly seeking to create an atmosphere where friendly talks are possible, by how much the more are we wise to preserve the grounds of Commonwealth understanding?

One of the lessons of recent years has been that incidents in any one part of the world cannot be disregarded in any other part. For centuries Europe has concerned itself with events in the Far East and the Pacific; the significant and newer development is that the Far East and the Pacific are discovering that they have an equal stake in events in Europe.

For New Zealand, which has been involved in two world wars and in most theatres of those wars, this world view, which we consider only realistic, comes very naturally. Insular though we may be in some respects, when we look overseas we are rarely the prisoners of a narrow regionalism. Herein lies the significance for us all of the problem of Berlin. It will be recalled that this problem and the wider questions at issue in Central Europe—German reunification, the conclusion of a German peace treaty and the problem of European security—have occupied the attention of the Western powers and the Soviet Union since November of last year.



I had intended to deal with this problem in some detail, but the time allotted to me prevents anything but a summing-up of the New Zealand point of view. The Berlin issue has seemed important, first, because a Western surrender on Berlin, in face of Soviet pressure, apart from leaving West Berlin defenceless against Communist encroachment, would raise doubts everywhere whether the West is prepared to honour its moral obligations; secondly, because, despite the relative stability which has characterized power relations in Europe in recent years, Europe is the traditional powder-keg from which world wars have started; and thirdly, because the issue has presented a challenge to the West since, on the one hand, Western solidarity in defence of essential principle is crucial to world peace, while, on the other, Western unity is equally necessary where flexibility can help lower tension.

I should like now to pay some attention to the Laotian and Tibetan situations. Reports from Laos continue to differ so widely that the exact dimensions of the threat to the Government's authority are not clear. What is clear, however, is the potential danger which continuing conflict in Laos may have for peace in the whole South-East Asian area. New Zealanders can especially sympathize with Laos. It is a small country of about the same size and population as New Zealand. The accident of geography, however, has placed Laos at a political and strategic keypoint in South-East Asia.

Since the disruption caused by the Vietminh invasion in 1953 and 1954, and the subsequent actions of the Communist Pathet Lao rebel movement, Laos has struggled to return to national unity and political stability. We must recognize that the Communists have the ability to increase or decrease, virtually at will, the pressures on Laos, both within the country and from outside. It does appear that we may face a period of uneasy balance in Laos, a period of crises and alarms. Within Laos, the only satisfactory solution in the long term is a strengthening of the Laotian Government's own ability to cope with internal challenges, whether military or political. But what Laos needs most desperately is an end to external interference. It is in this connexion that some form of international action is likely to be most helpful. The machinery of the United Nations, for example, may offer some prospect of stabilizing the situation there and restoring normal conditions. The situation in Laos is naturally one which is being watched very closely by New Zealand. As we have shown by our participation in S.E.A.T.O., New Zealand has a direct interest in the maintenance of peace in South-East Asia.

New Zealand has also been concerned, although less directly, with events in Tibet during the last six months—less directly, that is, in the sense of feeling that there is anything which we or other countries can do to give effective support. That has been the special feature of the national tragedy played out in Tibet—the sense of helplessness among the onlookers. Arguments about the exact legal status of Tibet and its relationship to China miss the real point. What the world has witnessed has clearly been a revolt of truly national proportions. The brutal methods used by the Chinese to suppress that revolt can only be condemned. It is not on the basis of such methods that satisfactory relations between neighbouring peoples can be established or maintained.

Chinese actions in Tibet seem to have done more than any other event to bring home to the peoples of Asia that imperialism is not simply a Western phenomenon. As the S.E.A.T.O. Conference in Wellington in April noted in its final communiqué, there has been deep and widespread revulsion from such actions.

The essential features of the last Western plan for disarmament were endorsed by the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1957. In a resolution adopted by fifty-six votes, including that of New Zealand, to nine, represented by those of the Soviet bloc, with fifteen abstentions, the Assembly approved a plan based on the following measures: the immediate suspension of nuclear tests under effective international control; the cessation of the production of fissile materials for weapons purposes; the reduction of nuclear weapons stocks; the reduction of armed forces; inspection against the possibility of surprise attack; and the joint study of an inspection system to ensure the peaceful use of outer space.

Although it was not implemented, the Soviet Union and the Western powers were,



in fact, in agreement on a number of points of this plan. The Soviet Union maintained, however, that the first step of disarmament should be the renunciation of the use of nuclear weapons, without the necessity for prior agreement on effective inspection measures, and objected to certain provisions of the Western plan, such as those for aerial reconnaissance over the territory of the Soviet Union. In 1957 the Western powers insisted that their proposals be accepted *in toto*. Since then, although they have not abandoned them, the West has modified its policy.

The day after the successful conclusion of a conference of experts which met in Geneva from 1st July to 21st August, 1958, to consider "the methods of detecting violations of a possible agreement on the suspension of nuclear tests", the United Kingdom and the United States Governments announced that they were prepared to negotiate with other Governments, which had tested nuclear weapons, an agreement for the suspension of nuclear weapons tests under effective international control.

The New Zealand position so far as testing is concerned is that it believes and has consistently urged that tests should be ended as soon as possible by an international agreement containing adequate safeguards against evasion. In keeping with this policy, New Zealand, at the last session of the United Nations General Assembly, co-sponsored a resolution which expressed the earnest hope that the current negotiations in Geneva between representatives of the nuclear powers would result in an early agreement on the suspension of tests under effective international control and, *inter alia*, urged the participants to undertake no further tests while the negotiations were in progress. This resolution was adopted, and no tests have been conducted by the three powers since 3rd November, 1958. Recently, the Western powers announced their intention to extend the temporary suspension of tests at least until the end of this year, and the Soviet Union has said that it will not resume tests until the West does.

In the wider field of disarmament, the New Zealand Government has advocated a comprehensive and balanced programme of nuclear and conventional disarmament, with provision for adequate inspection at all stages. It is its hope that success in the current negotiations on the subject of the discontinuance of tests will provide the key to further progress in negotiating measures of real disarmament.

Finally, Sir, may I say that so far as New Zealand is concerned, we believe in, and we shall fight for, peace with honour.

**Sardar Hukam Singh, M.P. (Deputy Speaker of the Lok Sabha, India):** Mr. Chairman, if the honourable Gentleman from Canada felt humble, I feel humbler still when I have to come after such distinguished statesmen as have taken part in this debate today. But as everybody knows, India has a particular point of view, and I deem it my duty to place that view before this august assembly.

Only two days ago, I read a report in the newspapers here that Lord Bruce of Melbourne, a former Australian Prime Minister, had said that small countries were in a hopeless position today and that "what has happened to Mr. Nehru recently is going to bring home to them that it isn't any good saying, 'I am neutral and I am independent and nobody can touch me.'" I was surprised to read such an appreciation of our policy. It was true that what had happened to Mr. Nehru might happen to others also, but never has Pandit Nehru said "I am neutral and I am independent and nobody can touch me". There is a great misunderstanding about our policies so far as international affairs are concerned.

It is not quite correct to say that India is neutral. Neutrality does not mean anything during peacetime. No country can afford to stand aloof or isolated. We have to move along with others. India's policy can be described as one of non-alignment with one bloc or the other. It is a positive and basic policy. We wish to decide for ourselves each issue as it arises, and do not desire to surrender our judgment to one great power or the other. By this approach we have never claimed that we are always right and the others are wrong, nor have we ever adopted an attitude which may be construed as "holier than thou", but we do maintain that even great powers may make mistakes in the heat of the moment or as a result of being conscious of their might. We have always realized that we are not one of the great nations, financially



or militarily, but nevertheless we feel that we can make our humble contribution towards the maintenance of peace by expressing our views freely, uninfluenced by bloc considerations. We are proud that sometimes our voice, though feeble in other respects, has produced enormous effects in the international decisions.

We are glad that there is a growing appreciation of our policies in the world today. Mr. Gaitskell, Leader of the United Kingdom Opposition, while speaking in the Delhi Conference of this Association during 1957, posed the question: "Is the United Nations Assembly now not so organized into different blocs as to make every vote a foregone conclusion?" And then he himself answered that it was not so. He said, "There still does exist, what one can describe as a floating vote. I wish it were larger, but it is still there and can therefore be moved by circumstances of each particular case."

It is this category which India feels must be there and should be strengthened, if in reality the United Nations' deliberations are intended to mean anything. Just imagine what will happen if this floating vote is eliminated and all countries are bound down with one bloc or the other, the deliberations in the international forums would become foregone conclusions, and the United Nations would cease to have any use at all. There would in such a case be readymade solutions, and voting could be done even by proxies. It would be no use spending such large amounts of money and having all this paraphernalia.

India's foreign policy can best be described as one of peace in the world and friendship with all. In all our international affairs we have tried to promote these objectives. We may have faltered, but never were we deliberately swayed away from the course under the influence of opportunism or expediency. No doubt self-interest is the greatest consideration, but our self-interest also compels us to pursue this course.

Above all there is the consideration that, with mighty weapons of warfare at the disposal of the nations, and—to use the words of a press report of a few days ago—the "designers and fabricators of military hardware coming out with fresh weapons of destruction, biological, chemical, radiological, and even psychological from their laboratories", the world is just at the crossroads at this moment and has to decide between total destruction and peaceful coexistence. The choice is clear.

It may be argued that there is nothing exceptional in this policy. Every nation wants peace. The recent meeting of President Eisenhower and Mr. Khrushchev was an indication that the two mighty countries of the U.S.A. and Russia are as keen to strive for peace as any other nation. The Summit Meeting is just in sight. The General Assembly's Political Committee has adopted unanimously, without formal vote, an unprecedented 82-nation resolution referring all current disarmament proposals to the new ten-power Geneva Committee. It is no doubt true that all nations in this world do desire peace, but the approach and the methods of having it are different.

There is a strong section of opinion in this world, as has been demonstrated today also, which believes that you can have peace only if you have power enough to resist and overcome any aggression. They talk of peace, but prepare for war. According to this school we should be strong, and be so strong that the others must realize that, if a clash is precipitated, they will be destroyed. According to this school you should only speak of peace from a position of strength. Consequently, peoples of this school go on making preparations and spending huge sums of money. The scientists have been commissioned to utilize all their intellect in devising new engines of destruction. The atomic energy has released deadly forces of annihilation, and the resources of the nations are at the disposal of these scientists. Of course it must be conceded that the scientists have done their job well. In a recent assessment by the Federal Civil Administration in the U.S.A., it had been established that:

If nuclear weapons having a combined yield of 2,500 megatons were dropped on the United States, 36 million would be dead by the first day and 57 million injured. By the sixtieth day 72 million would be dead and 21 million injured. It can be very well realized that Russian casualties would be no less if similar nuclear weapons were dropped over the Soviet Union.

How devastating would be the results and how appalling the destruction if a



nuclear war were to break out! The 1939–45 war began with aerial attacks and traditional bombs, but ended with atomic weapons when Hiroshima was wiped out, and Japan was made ineffective by another knock on Nagasaki on 9th August, 1945. The destruction can well be imagined, when or if another war is forced on the world. It would be begun by nuclear weapons much deadlier than ever before.

It has also been argued that the United Nations cannot give protection and guarantees for the defence of smaller and weaker nations; therefore, the weaker nations must unite into military alliances and other pacts, so that collectively they may have strength enough to defend themselves if their security is threatened. On this line of reasoning the formation of N.A.T.O., S.E.A.T.O., the Baghdad Pact, and other alliances is attempted to be justified. These countries entering into these blocs may argue in that manner, and may even advance plausible arguments, but we feel that these pacts and alliances have defeated their own objectives by creating a psychology of fear and hatred. They have accelerated the cold war in those areas and have drawn their enemies closer to them rather than kept them away.

Moreover, these pacts have, in our opinion, become out of date with the coming in of inter-continental ballistic missiles, which can hit from one end of the globe to the other. The precision and power with which it can be done have been demonstrated, during September last, by the landing of a rocket on the moon by Soviet Russia.

It cannot be conceived that this knowledge and skill would remain a secret and a monopoly with the Russians. In a matter of only some months, if not of weeks, the U.S.A. must have acquired success in it, and some other nations will follow soon. These I.C.B.M.s are already in possession of a few countries.

When this was the case, and the state of cold war continued and was intensified under strains of fear and hatred, there would always be an anxiety to strike first lest the enemy had the initiative and destroyed us. There would always be a psychological pressure that we should be the first. This psychology alone would be a great danger to peace.

Another argument is also put forward that possession of atomic weapons by both is a good deterrent for both sides, for none of these would like to take the risk lest it was itself destroyed. But how safe is the “nuclear deterrent policy” was argued in an article which appeared in the *Sydney Morning Herald* dated 4th November, under the caption “The Philosophy of Terror”, quoting Mr. Kennan, a Professor in the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, New Jersey. It was reported that the Professor had expressed horror that the United States should base its security on nuclear weapons which would “destroy innocent non-combatant human life including lives of children on a vast scale”. This Professor had advised the U.S.A. to rethink the nuclear deterrent policy so as to wean themselves from this fateful and pernicious principle of first use.

In my opinion this preparation and possession of deterrents to keep away war rather invites war sooner than it would otherwise come. The great philosopher, Lord Bertrand Russell, in his book *Common Sense and Nuclear Warfare*, has observed that:

While present policies continue on both sides, there is much more possibility of a nuclear war than is thought by the general public.

Where is the relief then? The escape lies in disarmament. There is hope in the Summit Meeting. India has never believed that wars can be ended or avoided by stock-piling armaments or speaking from a position of strength. In this manner, you may delay actual conflict for some time, but you would make war inevitable. India has faith in human nature and considers that war is not inevitable. It has always advocated peaceful negotiations whenever disputes arise. For such negotiations and the democratic settlement of differences, there ought to be a proper atmosphere created.

Democracy is a way of life. Unless we learn to respect each other even when we differ, we cannot run democracy successfully. As in individuals, so in the case of nations, there ought to be some standard of behaviour if this world is to exist and if we want civilization to survive. It is idle to think now that, by force, Communism can be wiped out or exterminated. It is equally idle to conceive that democracies can be



annihilated by subversion or infiltration, or even by a show of force. Communism has come to stay in this world unless the democracies can demonstrate that they can raise the standards of living of individuals and root out poverty, hunger and want. If this is realized, then there ought to be some standards in our behaviour which would help us to coexist as nations and work for the common good of mankind. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has placed before the world the *Panchsheel*, or the five principles, for this purpose. Briefly, they are: 1. Recognition of each other's sovereignty. 2. Non-aggression. 3. Non-interference. 4. Mutual respect. 5. Peaceful coexistence.

This idea of *Panchsheel* has, in certain quarters, been laughed at and even ridiculed. Some have dubbed it as a political slogan only. Others have derided it as born out of weakness or pacifism. But no one has given any other better course of conduct.

Some people have observed that Prime Minister Nehru stands disillusioned and that the hollowness of *Panchsheel* is exploded by the recent incursions of China into our territory. Most strongly, we condemn these incursions, and we are determined to defend our frontiers whatever sacrifice this may cost us. But nothing has happened which has detracted anything from *Panchsheel*. If China has aggressive designs and is determined to create mischief, she would do so irrespective of whether she was a member of the United Nations or not. Rather, her membership would be likely to have some restraint on her before she commits any aggression. It would be conceded that it would have been much easier to deal with her if she had been a member of the United Nations than it is now.

**Hon. Stanley de Zoysa, M.P. (Minister of Finance, Ceylon):** Mr. Chairman, in these troubled times, an anxious world turns its eyes to the Summit. At the Summit will be made decisions which must affect many millions of us who dwell in the foothills and on the plains. We welcome, therefore, the opportunity that has been given by this Conference for those of us on the plains to address the Summit. Those at the Summit, in turn, may do well to give some consideration to the views expressed by us, for it may well be that, looking at things from a distance, we perhaps see things in better perspective than do those who are so close to them.

I, Sir, belong to one of the smallest nations in the world. We may be weak physically, but I think that history and tradition have given us the capacity to make our contribution to the common thought of the world. In all humility, therefore, I put before you certain points of view which I would wish you to consider.

For a long time, Sir, the human race has travelled along the well-beaten path of power blocs and the struggle for supremacy. Our journey on that road has been marked by calamity after calamity. We cannot contemplate with any satisfaction the fact that our generation has seen two world wars and is on the brink of a third. In that state of things, Sir, out of the wisdom of India, our great neighbour, came another concept, another idea, another call to the peoples of the world to forsake the mistakes of the past. The doctrine of peaceful coexistence, which was enunciated so clearly and so eloquently just now by my friend, Sardar Hukam Singh, is one that my country also adheres to. By peaceful coexistence, we mean all that has been said so eloquently. I emphasize the fact that we recognize every man's right to live in his own way. It may not be the way I choose, but, if it is good for him, it is not for me to try to tell him that he should not live that way.

This doctrine of peaceful coexistence has come under certain criticism recently by reason of the activities of Communist China on the frontiers of India. But I ask you to consider carefully whether that highlights any weakness in the doctrine of coexistence, or rather the basic and fundamental weakness of the policy of power blocs. You cannot outlaw so many hundreds of millions of people as there are in China and then expect them to observe your rules. I appeal to my friends from the United States of America to take a realistic view of this, for I cannot help reminding them that their mistakes may well mean our disaster.

Lord Attlee spoke of a surrender of some part of our sovereignty. Our sovereignty has been hard fought for and hard won. It is only recently that we have come into our own, but we are prepared to surrender a part of our sovereignty if that little part



that each of us surrenders is to be used for the common good of all of us. But we cannot contemplate the surrender of any part of our sovereignty, if it is to be surrendered only in order to maintain and continue powerful countries where they are and where they want to be.

The idea of the United Nations was commended to us. The concept of a United Nations Organization is an excellent one. To a proper United Nations Organization charged with the duty of maintaining peace in the world, and clothed with the power to do so, we shall readily surrender part of our sovereignty. But look at the United Nations as it is. You cannot deal with the affairs of the human race by dividing the human race at the outset into those who matter much—the gentlemen with the veto, those who matter not so much—countries like ours which meet in the General Assembly, and those who matter not at all—the countries that are not admitted. I appeal to the greater nations of the world to admit outlawed China into the family of nations and teach her to behave as we would wish her to behave. That is the only way to deal with a problem like that.

I do not wish, amidst these giants, to hold the stage for any longer, but I make an earnest appeal to the larger nations of the world on behalf of the smaller nations. I appeal to them to try to establish a state of things in which continued peace will be assured. You talk of your disarmament conferences. What earthly good can they serve, Sir, when China is free to say, "You may disarm, because you have agreed to do so, but I am not bound by that agreement"?

Let us address our minds seriously to this problem. The United States' attitude to Communist China springs from a very commendable human emotion—the emotion of loyalty to an older ally. I do not wish to give offence, Sir, but I appeal to the Americans not to let that emotion alone guide them. It alone must not guide them. I appeal to them to face up to the fact that Communist China does exist—because the existence of Communist China is a threat to the very survival of our nation. I appeal to them to address their minds to this problem with a firm determination that smaller nations like ourselves may be able to toil for our economic development and the regeneration of our people with the certain knowledge that their work will not be destroyed by some world catastrophe. Finally, I appeal to them to toil for the time

When the war-drum throbs no more, and the battle-flag is furl'd  
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world.

**Senator Hugh Scott (U.S. Senator from Pennsylvania, U.S.A.):** Mr. Chairman and Members of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, we of the United States Delegation are so very pleased and so very much complimented at the opportunity to be present and to participate at this time in your deliberations. We want to convey to you some of those ideas with which we live and upon which we predicate our actions. You have heard Senator Keating of New York. He and I together represent a total of 25 million people in our adjoining States. Senator Keating was too modest to tell you, Sir, that he is also a General in our Reserve Army and that he has made his own true contribution to peace in that he is one General who has not published any memoirs.

We, in a Joint Session of Congress, on one occasion, had the opportunity of hearing the Prime Minister of Australia; and members of my party from Pennsylvania came to the unanimous conclusion that we wished ever so sincerely that we might have had him as one of our party leaders.

I think it is without gainsay that no other group of nations has ever done so much in history as has this group, representing the Commonwealth of Nations, to expand the frontiers of freedom in the past, to continue that expansion to this day and to deliberate with such wisdom as will ensure its continued expansion in the future. No other group of nations, surely, has done so much to achieve on this earth the development of the dignity of man which we all honour as a concept and which this Commonwealth has done so much to carry into effect.

I want to say a few words on the subject of international trade because there is some misconception of the word "discrimination" with regard to United States trade



with Communist Russia. We have been hearing much lately from the Soviet Premier, Mr. Khrushchev, to the effect that, if only the United States and other countries of the free world would trade freely with the Soviet Union, the cold war would come to a halt. If the unshackling of trade with the Communist bloc were the real key to termination of the cold war, the countries of the free world would change their attitude towards trade with those countries very promptly. Trade flourishes in peacetime, but the restriction of certain kinds of trade is important if we are not to strengthen those who threaten our freedom.

The Soviet Premier sought to give the impression, during his American tour, that the United States and other non-Communist countries are wilfully "discriminating" against trade with the Soviet Union, that the Soviet Union is anxious to trade, and that trade is the litmus paper by which the relations between countries are judged. That we discriminate with the Soviet Union, of course, is a fact and the Soviet Premier is trying to turn against us our own words in advocacy of non-discriminatory trade. What he does not admit is that the discrimination is a result, and not the cause, of the present misunderstandings. As long as the Soviet leaders persist in their aggression and subversive activity, the countries of the free world are fully justified in denying them access to supplies of potential war-making materials.

There are some discriminations, however, that are not hostile in nature. Although based on self-interest, they evidence economic rivalry among friends and are not inconsistent with the maintenance of peace. The imperial preferential system of the British Commonwealth is an outstanding example. It is clearly discriminatory, but it has not militated, to any substantial extent, against the good relations existing among the Commonwealth countries themselves, or against their relations with non-Commonwealth countries, including the United States.

Since 1901 the United States has accorded preferential treatment to Cuba, and is now in the process of gradually eliminating preferential tariffs on its trade with the Republic of the Philippines. In Europe, the Common Market is developing rapidly and there is agitation for a larger European free trade area. Preferential trading arrangements also are likely to appear in other parts of the world.

That these arrangements are not in themselves warlike is not to say that they do not pose difficulties to the countries of the free world. Preferential arrangements which throttle trade are inherently undesirable. But not all of them have a throttling effect. It seems likely that the European Common Market, which evidences economic strength rather than weakness, will result in an expansion of trade among the countries of Europe and between them and non-European countries. The customs union idea is not necessarily restrictive of trade, nor hostile in interest. Always we should keep before us the goal that the multilateral trading area should be as large as possible. It is as important as ever, if not more important, that the countries of the free world work together harmoniously on all fronts—economic, political, and military. The most important economic bond among nations is peaceful trade. This is why trade should be maximized. I add, Mr. Chairman, that all members of the United States Delegation are—and have consistently been—supporters of the reciprocal trade policy. So you do not see protectionists here in this council hall.

It is easy to be critical of the slowness with which the free world has eliminated obstacles to international trade, for there are still many tariffs, import quotas, and restrictions on currency convertibility. The fact is, however, that the free world has been moving steadily towards the relaxation of trade barriers.

I have time only to mention here the reciprocal trade agreements programme, which the United States initiated—the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (G.A.T.T.)—signed at Geneva in 1947, and the announcement by many Western European countries last year that henceforth their currencies would be freely convertible for non-residents of their own countries or currency areas.

The problem of liberalizing world trade has changed radically in the past year or so. From the close of World War II until 1958, the challenge of economic leadership was principally to the United States. It is no longer so exclusively ours. After World War II most countries were short of dollars. The United States economy remained



strong in contrast to the economies of other countries, particularly those in Europe, where war had had a tremendous crippling effect. European countries needed assistance and, in reply to their appeal that, if they received the tools they would finish the job, the United States made billions of dollars available in the form of food, fuel, fertilizers and capital equipment. This was the Marshall Plan—one of the beneficent chapters of modern history. By 1950, Europe had gone a long way along the road to economic viability. Then came the Korean war and the need for large military assistance to the underdeveloped, militarily underdefended countries—mostly in Asia. Ever since, the bulk of foreign aid has been military in character. Meanwhile, economic developmental aid and technical assistance programmes were started and are now equal in importance, if not in cost, to what is being done militarily.

The international economic picture has changed, however. The dollar shortage has given way to a rapidly developing dollar surplus. United States imports at last are catching up with exports and the United States has been losing some of its gold supply. If this trend should continue indefinitely, this nation's position would be endangered, and it is being watched carefully.

There are two principal approaches to reversing this trend—an increase in United States exports and a greater participation by other countries in aid to underdeveloped countries for mutual defence. The economies of Europe have not merely attained viability. They are now prosperous. Prosperity is evidenced by their ability to compete in world markets and to develop international financial surpluses sufficient to enable them to enlarge their gold reserves. The forces of international economic adjustment may work slowly, but they do work.

Now that there is substantial economic balance among many countries in the free world, it is time for some of them to assume a larger share of the cost of mutual defence and of aid to the underdeveloped countries. It is also time for countries that are in a favourable balance-of-payments position to abolish their discriminatory treatment of dollar imports. There was good reason for permitting discriminatory restrictions against dollar imports as long as dollars were a scarce currency. But now that dollars are no longer abnormally scarce there is no reason why the discrimination should persist. The free world must work together to establish a truly multilateral system among economies that are prosperous. To continue strong the free world must recognize and adapt itself to economic changes as they occur. It must meet those changes in such ways as to maximize the interests of all.

Having spoken now on the economic side, may I conclude with these commentaries in the area of international mutual interest and defence. We have heard here today something about the foothills. This seems to be an interesting new term. I think it reflects a belief that, whatever the personalities of those who meet at the Summit, the ordinary people of large nations, as well as of small nations, exist together at the foothills. Our eyes are as anxiously turned to the Summit as yours. Our future, our existence, our survival are as much dependent on a Summit Conference as those of every other nation in the world. The size of any given nation has, in the long run, little to do with its ultimate survival. That is a longer way of saying that we are all in it together.

I come from Philadelphia, which is the birthplace of the independence of the United States and of the end of the colonial tradition, as far as we were concerned. I submit that it is time that the nations of the world were thinking in terms of a Declaration of Interdependence. Perhaps such a declaration might do for the world what the Declaration of Independence set in motion among many countries, and what it is continuing to do for the betterment of mankind and the peace of the nations which are receiving and which have already received the blessings—perhaps the dubious blessings—of independence.

The Prime Minister has suggested frequent meetings at the Summit. I would like to suggest that those meetings be not necessarily limited to four or five persons, but, as other speakers have suggested, that there should be more neighbourly meetings, more frequent meetings, and more opportunities to speak to each other.



We all know that the President of the United States has just made an announcement about his forthcoming visit to Asian countries—India, Pakistan, and others. We in America heard this news just as I left San Francisco, and I am sure that we are delighted that our President is coming here. We hope you will be as happy as we are that he is coming to express in his own person the feeling which he has that the world is truly a neighbourhood now.

It is true that we, at the end of World War II and during the war, had no common political objective. Certainly, unconditional surrender was a military objective. But regrettably, this lack of political purpose to which the Prime Minister has referred has brought us only as far in the postwar world as conditional survival. Surely that is very small coinage to pay for the glittering words “unconditional surrender”.

This is the seventieth nation which it has been my privilege to visit in the last twenty-seven years. I have never seen a three-legged man. I have never seen a man with green hair. The peoples of the world have more similarities than they have differences. The aspirations of mankind are the same, whether behind or on this side of the Iron Curtain. The beliefs of mankind, whatever they may be, certainly centre around a peaceful way of life, a house with a roof which does not leak, the opportunity for one's children to advance somehow to a happier way of life than their parents have known, freedom from the oppression of Governments, and the hope that all men may live ultimately in peace. We, in the United States, share these beliefs. If our methods of arriving at our objective seem at times to be naïve and we seem still to be too much of the new world, nevertheless we, too, are trying to do our best. We hope that out of this Conference and others like them may ultimately come a recognition of interdependence through the mutual exchange of sincere opinions, honestly arrived at.

**Mr. Jan H. Visse, M.P. (*Union of South Africa*):** Mr. Chairman, Mr. Prime Minister, and fellow Delegates, it is common knowledge that during the Second World War northern Africa was one of the major battlefields. Action was also seen in the East African zone. South African soldiers played an important part in these battles. Since the Second World War the African continent has again become prominent—this time in the sphere of international politics. Africa has been described as one of the major prizes of the world. Developments are taking place at an astonishing rate. The eyes of the West and the East are sternly fixed on this large continent. Which of the two will ultimately have the biggest influence cannot be foreseen at present.

Soviet Russia gained its first firm foothold in Africa with the grant of a loan of £32 million to Egypt to enable President Nasser to carry on with his Aswan Dam project. Mr. Khrushchev earlier this year received an invitation to make an official visit to Ethiopia. A loan of £35 million has been promised to Ethiopia. The Russian language and the influence of Soviet monetary resources are already being heard and felt in northern Africa. Moscow is directing powerful propaganda to the millions of Africa by means of the radio, the Press and the softly spoken word.

We are experiencing a transition period in Africa. As the metropolitan powers withdraw, new independent African States emerge. But in the general clamour for freedom, the basic essential of security is, more often than not, overlooked. A United Nations Organization expert wrote these words in the *New York Times* about this new partition of Africa:

However, many of the prospective new African States have a small number of inhabitants. Their economic backwardness, together with the fact that only about 5 per cent. of their population is literate, has already attracted the attention of agitators who are operating under orders from Cairo and Moscow.

Including the Union of South Africa, Africa already has ten member States in U.N.O. In political circles it is predicted that this number will increase to twenty-five during the next twenty years.

The African continent has without doubt become the focal point of international interest, and the target of special attention by world Communism. Every time the danger signals go up in other parts of the world as a result of Russia's cold war offensive,



we in South Africa are reminded of the creeping challenge of Communism in Africa. What the Communist blueprint of Africa is, we do not yet know. What we do know is that to the Communists Africa with its vast potentialities is perhaps the greatest prize on earth. What we also know is that Communism has leap-frogged the Middle East northern defence line, and that Western defences have failed to prevent its infiltration and advance into Africa, where in some parts Soviet popularity is already riding dangerously high.

Sir Roy Welensky, the Prime Minister of South Africa's immediate northern neighbour, too, seems to be perturbed about the "balkanization of Africa". In April this year he made the following statement:

The new emergent States produced by African nationalism needed capital and skill—and the new Communist imperialism was always willing to provide these at a cost not always apparent at the time. There is no time for the countries of the West to lose. Countries with a stake in Africa cannot afford to let Russia wrest the initiative from them.

He also said:

We and our powerful allies lack a pan-African and dynamic approach—but Russia does not. Russia sees this great continent of Africa as the strategic prize in her struggle for world supremacy over capitalism and in her determination to ensure the minds of free men.

To us in South Africa it is of vital importance that concerted unity in Africa south of the Sahara should be brought into being, in order to preserve our Western civilization. The Sahara Desert forms a natural barrier in Africa. South of this barrier the States and territories have important mutual interests. The desert stretching from the Red Sea to the Atlantic, skirting the borders of the Sudan, Ethiopia and Italian Somaliland, makes a natural northern boundary to most technical and scientific problems. Eight years ago it was, for instance, decided by the nations concerned to limit the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa—that remarkable instrument in the peaceful development of southern Africa—to activities south of the Sahara. The desert belt has also since come to be regarded as a natural limit for defence co-operation in southern Africa.

South Africa plays its part south of the Sahara. It makes its full contribution in the fields of industry, science and technology. South Africa has in recent years gone out of its way to play its part in dealing with common problems, in combating human, animal and plant diseases and in helping to solve the many technical and scientific problems south of the barrier. In fact, there is today hardly a technical project which is not included in the pattern of co-operation by the States and territories south of the desert belt.

South Africa also co-operates in another and very important field, namely defence. At the two southern Africa defence Conferences, one at Nairobi in 1951 and one at Dakar in 1954, it was agreed to exchange information on defence facilities between the countries concerned south of the Sahara. South Africa's agreement in 1955 with the United Kingdom for the defence of the sea routes around southern Africa against possible Communist aggression, and the recent five-power naval Conference in Cape Town between naval representatives of South Africa and the four metropolitan countries in Africa in connexion with the defence of the sea lanes south of the barrier, are also indicative of closer concentration of defence interests.

While in the international field South Africa, with its Minister of Defence as the spearhead, continually and in the face of many obstacles, works in the direction of creating a definite structure for the defence of Africa south of the Sahara, the Government of South Africa, with an eye on the current developments in Africa, has created and is building up a defence force to suit these new conditions, and mainly to fulfil two important functions.

The first is that of maintaining internal security in the event of Communistic flare-ups, such as those with which other African States already have the unfortunate experience of having to cope. The second important function is to defend the strategic



sea routes around the Cape of Good Hope, where, as is generally known, 155 Allied ships totalling more than a million tons were sunk by enemy submarines during the last war. With the closing of the highly vulnerable Suez Canal in times of international conflict, the vital importance of the sea routes around the Cape is evident.

Certain African States under Western control have experienced, and are experiencing, Communist propaganda directed for consumption by the illiterate masses, with the eventual reaction of a total flare-up against democratic and constitutional government, and also the well-known underground intriguing that seldom sees light of day or hits the headlines, but which constitutes a real and ominous danger. The past year saw emergency steps taken by democratic African States to counter internal strife and unlawfulness which are the usual first step in Communist-inspired uprisings.

With an eye to the maintenance of inland security in times of upheaval, the South African Army and the South African Air Force train in close collaboration. In common with reorganization policies carried out in the defence structures of almost all post-World War II States, the South African Defence Force is also gradually being reorganized into a smaller, more mobile and harder-hitting force. Units are located strategically. They are fewer but bigger. The degree of preparedness aimed at is of the highest order and training follows modern techniques.

As part of the South African permanent Army, two mobile watches have recently been formed to perform, in time of peace, such land services as the erection of bridges in flooded areas and the rendering of such other relief measures as the Government may require, and to act, in time of upheaval, as front-line shock troops. Both watches are highly trained in the technical field as well as in the use of infantry and artillery weapons and armoured vehicles. In view of the vast expanse of South Africa, these two watches are also trained and equipped to be transported by air at short notice.

Apart from the mobile watches, the South African Army in its various commands is responsible for administering and training various citizen force regiments, which are roughly comparable with the British Territorial Army, the commando organization, which may be considered as the equivalent of the Home Guard in England, and the school cadet organization under which boys up to school-leaving age receive elementary military training.

I will end by saying that South Africa must and will play its full part as an African power. We will co-operate not only with the European States that have interests and responsibilities in Africa, but we are prepared to co-operate in matters of common concern with all States that have been established or may be established in Africa south of the Sahara, and with all other democratic States in the world.

**Hon. J. K. Babiliha, M.L.C. (Uganda):** Mr. Chairman, Mr. Prime Minister, and members of the Conference, I may be asked why I have made desperate efforts to speak on this subject which concerns highly advanced countries. We, in the young countries still under the Colonial Office, are as equally concerned as the self-governing advanced States of the Commonwealth with this subject. The uncontrolled use of nuclear weapons could mean as much to us as to the old countries. If nuclear knowledge is a good discovery benefiting mankind, it should be used within ethical limits, and not for the vainglory of war or for mere ostentatious manifestations of superiority against established human moral standards.

I will confine my remarks on this subject to the practice of testing nuclear bombs and the physical, mental and genetic results of the fall-out upon human populations around the place where the test is made. The intention of France to explode a nuclear device in the Sahara Desert has aroused discontent and legitimate protests in many countries in Africa north and south of the Sahara. I understand that all West African countries and some East African countries, as well as North African territories, have strongly protested against the anticipated action of France for fear of their lives and the effects upon human populations in the long run, as the result of fall-out from the first test may not be perfect.

After all, Africa is not the place for dangerous experiments. France would have been wiser to do it somewhere near the North Pole, far away from human communities.



Religious leaders in the world have expressed their doubts and their genuine gesture is supported by all peoples in all continents. Above all, certain scientific experts have come to the conclusion that this is a dangerous feat. We know that France is a friendly ally to the Commonwealth. If she respects democracy at all, she surely ought to decide after gauging the magnitude of world public opinion. The advanced Commonwealth countries are, therefore, reminded of their moral obligation to approach France tactfully on this matter, which seems to be the main topic, and is exerting a terrifying psychological effect on the peoples of Africa, Asia and maybe some liberal-minded people in other continents. The newspapers have made it public that some scientists in Europe and America have found out that the fall-out would have long-term ill effects on the health of the populations in neighbouring countries. There is in this age of self-conceit a belief that scientific achievements are merely for pedantic show to build the second tower of Babel, rather than to improve the world so that man may live peacefully in it.

The shooting of rockets to the moon, the stars and the sun or other celestial bodies will not contribute to human benefit, but will be an extravagant expenditure of the poor taxpayer's money for the destruction of human civilization. Money spent in such dangerous pursuits could be used for mankind by fighting disease and ignorance in the underdeveloped countries, and translating natural potentialities into reality for man's existence on this planet. Scientific knowledge so extravagantly and wantonly used banishes the spirit of philanthropy which has been an inherent human heritage for many centuries, and substitutes for it apathy, irrationality and indifference to the realization of man's dignity and his place in this world.

My second subject under this heading is the revision of the Nile Waters Agreement by the United Kingdom on behalf of Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika, with the Republic of Sudan and Egypt, and at international levels with the Belgian Congo and Ethiopia. Uganda's rights over the Nile waters is a fundamental question, as the country occupies a strategic geographical position in relation to countries that are not now members of the Commonwealth on the west and in the north, and any disputes or claims may endanger the future of Uganda, if she should wish to carry on large-scale irrigation for agricultural production in dry, arid areas. The concern of the Republics of Sudan and of Egypt has always been that they get more rights to the waters of the Nile on the ground that Uganda has many water sources and a regular annual rainfall. They do not realize, however, that Uganda is aware of their needs in carrying on its projects for irrigation and the generation of power, if these countries would not exaggerate their rights.

We hope that the United Kingdom will take a full place in the negotiations leading to justified revision of the agreement on behalf of the three East African territories. Another important factor is that Uganda, being the source of the Nile and at the same time the main catchment area of the waters of the Nile, is justified in feeling that at the present time the Egyptian and Sudanese areas are getting a proportional share, because the level of the waters in that part of the Nile bed in the Sudan and Egypt has never gone down to the level that would make their irrigation schemes impracticable.

I feel, therefore, that this matter will receive attention, as all our lakes, rivers and swamps empty into the Nile. The diversion of one of the small rivers for purposes already mentioned might be the cause of exaggerated discontent by Egypt and the Sudan. If ever Ethiopia and Belgian territories used much of the waters of the tributaries feeding the Nile, Uganda, which is the source and a large natural catchment area, might be made the scapegoat of these discontented countries. There is a great clamour for provision to be made for a revised agreement at international level.

**Mr. Daniel Norton, M.L.A. (Western Australia):** Mr. Chairman, following such eloquent speakers as we have heard this afternoon, there seems to be very little left for me to say on the subject of international affairs and defence. I do suggest, however, that if we could have more Conferences like this one we would promote far better international feeling throughout the world. Our activities at Conferences such as this are naturally followed closely by other countries, and in this way we may be able to



bring them round to our democratic way of life. They can see that our ideas are peaceful, and that we are not desirous in any way of creating a situation likely to lead to war. If we can induce other countries to follow policies similar to our own, we can obviate the necessity to spend large sums of money in supporting permanent military forces for use in case we are attacked. We can use the money saved in this way to help underdeveloped nations. Unfortunately we cannot at present foresee a situation in which this would be possible, so it behoves each nation in the Commonwealth to take such steps as its economic circumstances permit to maintain a trained military force with which it can, for a short time, resist aggression or invasion, until the other nations represented here, together with the United States of America, can come to its aid.

There are many ways in which a Conference of this kind can demonstrate to the world a better way of life, and the chain that we are welding, and gradually increasing, is slowly encircling the world, and must exert its influence on those nations which have not a thorough understanding of our mode of life. I think it quite appropriate to liken us in this gathering to a piano. Any pianist can play some sort of a tune on the white keys. He can also play a kind of a tune on the black keys, but he must combine the black and the white keys to get the best out of his instrument. In addition, the instrument must be properly tuned. Let us use this organization to play our tune, so that the world may hear us and understand us.

*The Conference then adjourned.*



## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND DEFENCE

(continued)

The Eighth Session of the Conference was opened on Saturday, 7th November, at 9.30 a.m. by Senator J. Allen Frear, Jr., U.S.A., when the discussion on International Affairs and Defence was continued. The Chairman of the Council presided.

**Senator J. Allen Frear, Jr. (U.S. Senator from Delaware, U.S.A.):** Honourable Sir and fellow Delegates, permit me, please, to express my personal appreciation for the invitation to participate in this Conference. With the spirit of co-operation, the sincerity of opinion and the air of cordiality that are present the Conference cannot but prove successful.

We of the United States Delegation must thank you for the opportunity you have given us to be present. We are grateful for the courtesies which have been extended to us. In particular, let me remember and thank the Government and the people of Australia for their warm and cordial welcome. We regretted that we were unable to accept your full invitation to begin the tour with you in Western Australia. It would have been very beneficial to us. We are sorry that the Congress of the United States did not adjourn in time to permit us to accept that invitation.

If I were to single out any one reason as the most significant why we in the United States have such a close feeling of friendship and partnership with you in the Commonwealth, it is because we depend so much upon each other for our defence and security. True, between most of us there is a close communion because of historical ties, similar institutions and common language and culture, but these merely create an atmosphere and set the stage. It is the tie of fundamental national interest that really binds. It is because we Yanks and you members of the Commonwealth are linked in bonds of collective security against those who would forcibly destroy our democratic way of life that we and you stand here today in this hall in common sympathy and understanding.

It was during World War II that we in the United States and you in the States of the Commonwealth, and our allies among the United Nations, developed the idea, previously tried in a more rudimentary form in the old League of Nations, of an international organization to preserve peace among nations by the application of collective sanctions, including military force if necessary, against those who would violate the peace.

At San Francisco in 1945 the blueprints for transforming the concept of collective security into reality were drawn. The role of the Commonwealth countries in that drafting Conference was of special significance. The United Kingdom was, together with the United States, the Soviet Union, France, and China, one of the five principal sponsors of the Conference. Australia, Canada, India, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa were among the original members of the United Nations. Later entrants from the Commonwealth have included Pakistan, Ceylon, Ghana, and Malaya.

Unfortunately, the dream of world-wide collective security entertained by the participants at San Francisco was shattered by the indiscriminate exercise of the veto power by the Soviet Union, and this was very forcefully brought to your attention yesterday. As a result, the Security Council became virtually paralysed soon after its inception and the United States, the United Kingdom and many other countries thought it necessary to reappraise their collective security position in the light of this development. In seeking a formula to resolve their problem, they turned to Article 51 of the United Nations Charter.

This famous article, the inclusion of which in the Charter at San Francisco was largely due to the initiative of the Australian Delegation and of Senator Arthur Vandenberg of the United States, permits member countries to take collective defence measures for their own protection pending effective action by the United Nations Security Council. On the strength of this article, therefore, the nations of North America and of Western Europe were able to act within the Charter, although outside the Security Council, to provide for their joint defence. The result was the birth of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization on 4th April, 1949.



But N.A.T.O. was aimed at safeguarding the security of only one region—the North Atlantic—whereas the threat, which soon became evident, was worldwide. The fingers of the Soviet Union reached out to probe in many spots along its periphery—in Eastern Asia, in Southern Asia, and in the Middle East. It was not possible, elsewhere in the world, to form all-inclusive collective defence agreements that would, by themselves or together, have a scope approaching that of the United Nations Charter. Some proposals were made for a universal alliance of non-Communist States under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, but they were abortive, largely because of the reluctance of a group of States in Asia and Africa which we call “neutralist”, or “uncommitted”, or “non-aligned”, to plunge into a security arrangement frankly premised on a division of the world. Collective security in those areas of the Pacific and of Asia adjacent to the Communist bloc has therefore remained based either on the uncertain guarantees of the United Nations Charter or on a multiplicity of alliances with restricted memberships formed in response to specific menacing situations.

These alliances include, first, a series of bilateral pacts between the United States, on the one hand, and Japan, South Korea, the National Government of China, and the Philippines, on the other. Secondly, they include multilateral security treaties linking the United States with members of the Commonwealth and other Asian States. One of these binds the United States, Australia and New Zealand in the A.N.Z.U.S. compact, concluded in 1952. This defence agreement, which was signed at the same time as the Japanese Peace Treaty, was motivated largely by memories of past joint resistance against aggression and a desire to continue this partnership. In 1954, when the collapse of the existing regime in Indo-China under Communist assault threatened to have a “falling domino” effect on the other free nations of South-East and Southern Asia, a number of the Commonwealth Governments—the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand and Pakistan—joined with the United States, France and two other Asian countries, the Philippines and Thailand, to guarantee the security of the South-East Asian region. This defence pact, as you all know, is S.E.A.T.O. Added to these alliances is what we formerly called the Baghdad Pact, now the Central Treaty Organization, or C.E.N.T.O., in which two Commonwealth nations—the United Kingdom and Pakistan—have undertaken to form a defence line across the Middle East with Turkey and Iran. The United States is closely associated with C.E.N.T.O.

Where, then, does this combination of a frustrated United Nations and an incomplete lacework of alliances leave the question of international collective security? Certainly the world does not possess the ideal security structure envisioned by many when the postwar world was being planned. What has emerged is an imperfect medley of defence arrangements with glaring deficiencies and quite a few gaps, but nevertheless with a stabilizing effect in key danger areas. Imperfect as it is, it is the best we have. We should try to make it work smoothly, while we constantly strive for something better. But what improvements can we make? In formulating an answer to this question I would like to comment briefly on the present status of the United Nations and of the two principal alliances in which the United States and Commonwealth nations are partners—S.E.A.T.O. and N.A.T.O.

In the light of the crippling of the United Nations as an instrument of collective security by Soviet non-co-operativeness, what should be our attitude towards the international organization? Should we discharge it from its responsibilities in regard to collective security and rely solely upon our alliances for defence? Should we convert the United Nations primarily into a channel for conciliating the disputes of the world, as some people apparently would like to do?

In all prudence, it would be hurtful to international progress to write off the United Nations as a collective security organ because of its present inability to act in certain cases. The Security Council was originally designed for safeguarding or restoring international peace by the employment of sanctions, and it still has, in practice, a residual ability to carry out this responsibility. In the perspective of history it is to be expected that the task of building a totally effective international security agency will be long and arduous. It is no surprise, therefore, that United Nations security machinery operates with less smoothness than we idealistically visualized in



1945. But it would be a crushing blow to our ultimate aim of bringing to maturity an effective collective security system if we should now abandon our effort.

In the meantime, we must lean heavily on regional security pacts like S.E.A.T.O. and N.A.T.O. Even as we hold these discussions an armed incident is taking place in S.E.A.T.O.'s area of jurisdiction that might give cause for triggering the alliance. The volatility of the situation in Indo-China makes it imperative that we fully comprehend how S.E.A.T.O. can best be employed to safeguard security in that area. It seems reasonable to expect that the type of incident now taking place in Laos is the kind of incident we can usually expect to challenge the alliance in this area, that is, insurrectionary infiltration, or subversion, rather than overt, direct military aggression. This is true because the existence of S.E.A.T.O. tends to discourage would-be aggressors from direct military attack. While that does not exclude the possibility that it may be necessary to call into operation the military defence forces of the alliance, it does indicate that it may be appropriate to summon them only as a last resort after other measures for resolution of conflict have failed.

Our first line of defence in the S.E.A.T.O. region is to build strong, solidly based States, through economic, technical and military assistance, that cannot easily be upset by Communist infiltration and revolutionary tactics. We must assist the South-East Asian countries in their endeavours to erect political systems in which the rights and interests of all are recognized and to construct prosperous economies, offering everyone a reasonable share of earthly happiness.

Experience has shown that covert forms of aggression can often best be dealt with on a political level by the instrumentalities of the United Nations. That is the reason why S.E.A.T.O. has bided its time, while the United Nations Security Council has sought to deal with the situation in Laos through the dispatch of a fact-finding mission. Every endeavour should be made to utilize the United Nations to assure the security of Laos, but if the worst should occur, and the United Nations should not be able to cope with the situation, then S.E.A.T.O. should be ready to act firmly. The United States is fully prepared to back up its pledges, if this should become necessary.

Across the world, in the Atlantic region, the problems that entangle N.A.T.O. are of a different character. During the past several years there has been a lot of talk about the crisis of N.A.T.O., and fears have been voiced that the alliance may be disintegrating. Briefly, the crisis referred to has sprung from an apprehension lurking in some quarters of the alliance that it no longer is as necessary as it once was, or that it no longer is able to perform an effective defence function. Much of the criticism of N.A.T.O. circulates around the alliance's decision to equip itself to wage tactical nuclear war. The policy of a tactical nuclear defence of Western Europe has had some unfortunate repercussions on segments of public opinion in Western Europe, especially in Western Germany. Since Soviet troops have also been equipped with tactical nuclear armament, some Western Europeans fear that N.A.T.O.'s employment of nuclear weapons on the territory of the defending countries would result in virtual annihilation of the nation's defenders. Obviously, such a defence would have little emotional appeal, and the result might be a lessening of popular confidence in the collective defence concept which N.A.T.O. represents.

Those persons who are uneasy about N.A.T.O.'s nuclear strategy should have a clearer understanding of its collective nature. The effective defence of Western Europe depends in the last analysis on the strategic striking power of the United States and Great Britain, acting in conjunction with ground and tactical air defence on the Continent. The entire North Atlantic defence system acts together as a collective unit.

Moreover, the principal aim of this collective system is to deter war—that is, to prevent any potential aggressor from ever making the fateful decision to launch an aggression. In this light, the function of the N.A.T.O. defence command in Western Europe can be perceived more lucidly. General Norstad has called N.A.T.O.'s strategy "the sword and the shield". The European defence forces are the shield, and the strategic strike forces the sword. The purpose of the shield is, first, to remove any temptation to an aggressor to walk in, capture Western Europe, and present the world with a *fait accompli*; secondly, to force an aggressor to make any attack on Western



Europe on such a scale that it is virtually certain a general nuclear war would result; and thirdly, to be tenacious enough to block an invasion of Western Europe territory until the sword can strike. In achieving these aims, the maximum deterrent capability is bestowed upon the sword and shield combination. When thus appraised, the tactical nuclear armament of the allied command in Europe is seen for what it is, primarily an essential segment of a potent defence combination designed to keep the peace.

But this raises another fundamental policy question. The programme for nuclear rearmament has met with doubts and objections in some instances on the grounds that it might prejudice attainment of international disarmament, which is a major policy goal of the United States, the Commonwealth countries, N.A.T.O., and many other countries. I can assure you that there is no other goal of foreign policy more desired by the American people than the achievement of armaments limitation and control. American taxpayers are being required to purchase more than 40 billion dollars' worth of defence every year. They would like nothing more than to cut back on this heavy expenditure.

Not only that, disarmament can be an efficacious way of preserving the peace of the world, and we Americans are very anxious to conclude an international arms control agreement for this purpose. Because of their firm support for disarmament, the United States Government and the other members of N.A.T.O. have agreed that certain conditions and restrictions should be imposed on the nuclear preparedness policy. One of the principal purposes of the international agreement that has been advocated for terminating nuclear weapons tests, and that is now under active negotiation at Geneva, is to prevent or to hinder the spread of the know-how for making nuclear weapons beyond the present nuclear "club", namely the United States, the Soviet Union, and the United Kingdom. Advocates of a weapons tests suspension maintain that the spread of a nuclear weapons capability will heighten the danger to world peace and increase the chance of the outbreak of a general nuclear war. A suspension of weapons tests would very likely prevent any country from developing its own atomic arms. But if those countries that possess nuclear know-how tell their secrets to those who do not, one of the major purposes of a test suspension would be circumvented.

This is the reason why the United States, in its programme for sharing a nuclear arms capability, which is so valid and desirable for defence reasons, has struck a compromise. It does not give any nuclear warheads outright to any other country. Nor does it give any other country any information, materials or equipment that would be directly useful in making such warheads unless that country already has a nuclear weapons capability, as the United Kingdom has. The United States provides delivery systems, and the technical training and information for using nuclear warheads, but it keeps custody of the warheads itself, on the understanding that in case of emergency they will be made available. By this rather ingenious arrangement, a nuclear arms capability is collectively shared by N.A.T.O., while the aim of preventing a diffusion of nuclear armaments fabrication know-how is achieved.

This is a compromise made necessary by the exigencies of defence, on the one hand, and the demands of a prudent arms control policy, on the other. Like many compromises, it is not wholly satisfactory. We in the United States would much prefer to make a much greater advance towards disarmament than Soviet secretiveness and suspicion have thus far allowed. If we could, in the current Geneva negotiations on a nuclear weapons test suspension, break through Soviet resistance and get an effectively policed and inspected agreement into operation, I am sure the complexion of the world's collective security problem would greatly change.

The inauguration of a nuclear test ban could mark a radical turning point in Soviet-Western relations. It would be a political break-through of the first order. If it were followed up by further agreements on arms control and political questions, we might seriously re-examine whether changed conditions had not altered our collective security problem. This, however, is still merely an aspiration—a dream, if you will—and not an accomplished fact. Until it is a fact, we must deal coolly and determinedly with the dangers we face and do what is required to make collective security in an armed and divided world a reality on which we can all depend.



**Rt. Hon. W. Glenvil Hall, M.P. (United Kingdom):** Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates, I think everybody here will agree that we have had a most interesting debate. We had some outstanding contributions yesterday, and now this morning from our friend from the United States, Senator Frear. During the discussion yesterday, as I am sure my fellow Delegates noticed, we had speeches from one Prime Minister, two ex-Prime Ministers, Ministers and leaders from other areas, and also the presence of, and contributions from, two Senators who had come a very long way to take part in this debate.

This, I think, indicates the importance of the subject we are now discussing. During the past week, we have talked of ways and means to give economic and technical assistance to the underdeveloped areas, and have also discussed other problems which affect us particularly as members of the British Commonwealth. But none of the things we have talked of and hope to do will be of much use to any of us, unless something can be done to rid the world of the terrific menace which faces it in the hydrogen bomb. Therefore, when the agenda was compiled, it was an excellent idea to include amongst the matters to be discussed those of international importance as well as those which are, if I may say so, purely domestic. A settlement of the arms issue is the one outstanding problem that faces the world at large, and until we can mutually come to terms with this burden and rid the world once and for all of this menace, we are not going to feel secure or that much of what we do and work for is really worth while.

As I listened to the speech of Senator Frear this morning, I noted in particular his statement that the United States yearly has to purchase—a new phrase to me in this connexion—40 billion dollars' worth of defence. The burden of armaments, which now lies on the world, is quite frankly an enormous one. We had speeches yesterday which indicated what other nations are spending in this direction. In the United Kingdom we have now for the best part of a decade spent something like £1,500 million for defence, and the astonishing thing is that all this money now being poured out by the major nations of the world is expended with one supreme hope, which is that it will be wasted—wasted in the sense that the forces and weapons thus created will never be used, and with, in addition, the certain knowledge that if, either by design or accident, they are used, civilization will go down in dust and smoke.

That is the situation. Unless something is done, the nations of the world will go bankrupt or will engage in mutual destruction. We here today, in common with other thinking men and women all over the world, are faced with the astonishing situation which, in simple terms, makes one wonder whether one is dreaming or reading *Alice in Wonderland*.

What can we as ordinary people do in a situation such as this? First, however, why is the world in this situation? I suppose the short answer is that we are piling up arms and others opposed to us are doing the same, because, despite all the wonderful advance that man has made in scientific development, technical know-how and all the rest of it, we have not yet learnt to get rid of fear between man and man and nation and nation. What divides us and what makes us fearful is not that we anticipate that, if we are not as strongly defended as we should be, someone will attack us. We do not fear conquest. We do not fear exploitation, because now between most peoples money can cross boundaries and can be invested in other countries and, of course, does so freely all the world over. We are not divided either because of our race, our colour, or our religion. What does divide us is the fact that there are now two main ideologies in the world struggling for mastery and dominion over men's minds. When I use the word "struggling", I use it advisedly. I do not think that we in the Western world desire to extend our system to peoples who are unwilling to accept our way of life; whereas behind the Iron Curtain, one great nation in particular has set out, or so we are told, to spread Communism throughout the globe. That is the fundamental difference between us. I think that sooner or later Russia has got to learn that her dream cannot be fulfilled and that, if she attempts to fulfil it, she will run the risk of destroying both herself and the rest of the world.

What can we do? I often sit and ponder on this, and I am sure that all my fellow Delegates do. I am positive that the statesmen of the world, and particularly Chancellors



of the Exchequer and Treasurers, certainly do so every time they face the estimates for the coming year. What can we, as members of the British Commonwealth, do to further the cause of peace and help the world to rid itself of fear and to abolish once and for all the menace of armaments, and nuclear armaments at that? Two efforts, as we all know, have been made to form a worldwide organization which would establish the rule of law. We had, first of all, forty years ago the League of Nations. What is left of it? The International Labour Office, perhaps, and a wonderful building in Geneva, which is scarcely used. The League of Nations failed not because ordinary men and women ceased to believe in it; it failed, quite frankly, because the statesmen of the times ceased to use it. We have to see to it, I think, that with the organization that has now taken its place we do not fall into this error.

The United Nations was formed fourteen years ago, when equally high hopes were expressed as those which were heard when the League of Nations was established. I know that criticisms are often made of the United Nations Organization, and some people would even go so far as to say that the sooner it is scrapped the better. I do not share that view for one moment. We can always amend the charter, given good will, and I hope that will in due course be done. But it must be kept in being, because sooner or later, when the world comes to its senses in this direction, a central authority such as the United Nations will be necessary, if only to organize the world police force, which, as Lord Attlee said yesterday, will eventually be necessary.

I agree with what was said yesterday by a number of speakers, indeed, very forcefully by the Prime Minister himself, and again by Lord Attlee and Doctor Evatt, that the likelihood of a great war is somewhat remote. I also agree that Lord Attlee's appraisal of the Russians is probably correct. It is true that many years ago the Russians gave us cause to hope that they had changed their minds and had become more reasonable. During the last ten years at least there have been times when the Russians have led the nations of the world to expect that they were ready to come to terms on this issue, but up to now all efforts to get them to agree to any real solution have been abortive. The Russians have over and over again gone so far and then drawn back. No wonder people have begun to get a little cynical about them and their attitude towards this matter.

I do not wish to appear too trusting. It is quite likely that Mr. Khrushchev is bluffing once more. But we cannot leave it at that. This is too serious a matter for us to guess at what is in another man's mind. I think—and I am positive that I carry my Delegation with me here, and the responsible members of my Government—that we should not for a moment leave things there, assume that Mr. Khrushchev is once more going through the familiar motions and, presently, when he has got us and the world so far, will draw back by raising objections which cannot be overcome. We have got to call his bluff, if he is bluffing.

As I have already said, I hold the view that it is possible that at long last there is a change of climate in Russia, a change in attitude on the part of its leaders, and that we may now be on the road to something more tangible than has previously been possible. What leads me to think that there is possibly a change of attitude among the Russians is the fact that they have shared in the Nuclear Weapons Tests Conference during the past year and, although some snags have arisen, a very great number of points have been agreed upon, and a good deal of ground has been covered. One excellent feature of this is, of course, that during the last year no nuclear tests have taken place at all. Russia was the last nation to make a test, in November, 1958, and since then the world has been free of them. The United States of America has agreed to postpone any further tests until December of this year, and I earnestly hope that the United States Senators present here today will go back and impress on their Government the great need to extend into another year that decision and not make further tests. We have followed suit, of course, and the British Government has not made any tests during the same period.

I regret, as I am sure all Delegates do, that the French, as a mere matter of prestige, are insisting on exploding an H-bomb in the Sahara at no distant date. I would have thought that at this time a much higher prestige could have been earned by a refusal, at such a critical period, to explode the bomb in North Africa. But there



it is, and we can only hope that, although the French are insisting on taking this action, it will not affect the attitude either of the Russians or of any of the other great nations towards this matter. My friend Mr. Holt reminds me—and, of course, he is quite right—that I referred erroneously to the projected explosion of an H-bomb by the French. What is expected is something relatively different, and not quite so deadly, namely, an atom bomb. But the underlying point, I think, is still a real one; it would have been much better if the French had agreed not to explode a bomb at all in the light of the present situation, and of the hope—not a wild one—that the nations of the world may come to terms with regard to nuclear weapons, and particularly nuclear bombs.

Another encouraging sign, in addition to the progress made at the Nuclear Weapons Conference, is the fact that at the United Nations General Assembly in September both the United Kingdom and the U.S.S.R. put forward proposals for disarmament, and the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the U.S.S.R. and France set up a Ten-Power Conference charged with the work of providing a forum for the renewal of practical serious discussion on disarmament. I, for one, have some expectation that the Ten-Power Conference will, during the coming year, look once again at the possibilities that quite definitely open up, and thus start the work of coming to some real decision.

Another thing which pleases me was that, when the Ten-Power Commission was established two months ago or less, it was expressly stated that it was not, in any shape or form, an organization designed to bypass the United Nations. We must remember, I think, that up to now the United Nations has been the only real central authority. We must uphold it and, if necessary, increase its authority.

Both my own Government and that of the U.S.S.R. have put forward proposals for disarmament by stages, and in this connexion Mr. Khrushchev suggests that the stages should be accomplished within the space of four years. What is important is that both the U.S.S.R. proposals and those of the United Kingdom do on the whole march pretty well together. Both, as I say, propose the abolition of arms by stages; both cover conventional weapons as well as nuclear. That, as the Prime Minister made plain yesterday, is absolutely essential from a Western point of view, because at the moment, apart from nuclear weapons, the U.S.S.R. has an enormous preponderance of conventional forces and weapons. Therefore, if protection is to continue through this process for all the world, it is essential that disarmament shall be balanced, and that it shall cover both kinds of weapons as we go along. Most important of all, from the point of view of getting rid of the fear which inhabits the minds of men, is the suggestion in both sets of proposals that there shall be inspection as the work proceeds.

All this, of course, is very satisfactory and, if we can trust the Russians at long last, extremely hopeful; but I think we must not expect miracles or quick results. I should like to say that I agree with Lord Attlee, one of my own leaders in the United Kingdom, that the central world authority must become much more than a debating chamber or simply a place where ideas are exchanged. We must, I think, all of us, relinquish a good deal of sovereignty before we can achieve what the world needs.

You know, in the United Kingdom not really so very long ago, gentlemen habitually carried swords, and had the right individually to take the law into their own hands in self-protection. This right was taken away. Men lost one freedom but gained a greater. So with national sovereignty. It is believed that by relinquishing a substantial portion of it the nations could gain immeasurably as a result.

The road ahead may be long, and may be, as I am afraid it will be, an extremely tough one; but it is something to know that the world is on it and is going in the right direction. I look forward to the time—I may not live to see it, but some here may—in years to come when the spirit which animates this Association will extend to the whole world, and men and women will live together in peace and contentment, anxious to help each other in every possible way.

**Hon. Roland Michener, Q.C., M.P. (Speaker of the House of Commons, Canada):**  
Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, all of us approach the problem of international affairs



as democratic nations, and all of us have in common, too, the fact that so far at least we are outside the Soviet orbit, although I regret that most of us feel the chill winds that blow from inner Siberia. Those relationships have been so adequately and admirably dealt with in the addresses we had yesterday and the two fine contributions we had this morning, that I do not propose to cover the ground again. I can subscribe, and I think all Canadians would subscribe, to most of what has been said. But in Canada we do have some special relationships in the international field which I venture to describe briefly, particularly as many of you have not yet visited Canada and had the chance to see for yourselves, although I hope that that omission will be made good in due course.

We have, in a small way, endeavoured to bring our particular circumstances to your attention in a booklet which we brought with us from Canada and copies of which have been distributed to the Conference. I should like to say something about our location and peculiar circumstances. As you all know, we are remote as a Commonwealth country. Our boundaries are the Pacific Ocean on the west, which is a very broad sea, the Atlantic Ocean, almost equally broad, on the east; on the north, we have the North Pole, but beyond that we have the Soviet Union; on the south, our neighbour is the United States.

In size, I am sure we are the largest in territory of the Commonwealth countries—larger than India or Australia, and larger than the United States even with its two new States, Alaska and Hawaii. We are larger, I think, than Communist China, although I am not sure what has been the effect on that comparison of the swallowing of Tibet and of the nibbling which goes on now at some of the northern States of India. But we do cover a great area of the land mass of the earth. That remoteness, I should say, has not made us isolationists. Canada has been in the stream of international affairs in this century to as full an extent, I think, as any member of the Commonwealth. We played our part in the First World War alongside the dominions of the British Empire of that time. Between the wars, it is true, we for a time withdrew and followed a policy of no commitments, but during the Second World War we again played our full part, and since that time we have no illusions about isolation. We believe in the interdependence of all of us in the democratic world, and we co-operate as fully as we can in all constructive international endeavours. But we do have four special relationships and I should like to refer to them briefly. The first is with our neighbours, the United States; the second is with the United Nations; the third is with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; and finally we have our Commonwealth connexion, which we have been exercising here in this Conference. Now, the United States and Canada are joined together, if I may put it that way, by a very long invisible boundary line which begins in the Ste. Croix River in New Brunswick, and again passing unseen, follows a course of waterways through the Great Lakes up to the north-east corner of the Lake of the Woods, runs via the 49th Parallel, which is also not marked on the ground, and through to the Pacific coast.

That line is a conjunctive line rather than a divisive line. I am delighted to welcome our American cousins here today and to say to them what good neighbours they have been. I want to describe to our other friends the peculiarly happy relationships that exist across that boundary. Our people move freely. The original inhabitants of North America, the Indians, I believe, suffer no disability at all about crossing the boundary and do so quite freely, nor have the later Canadians found any difficulty. The situation today, I think, is that there are as many descendants of the French-speaking peoples of early Canada in the United States as there are in Canada. That is no small number, because there are approximately 5 million French-speaking Canadians today. There are, of course, a great number of English-speaking Canadians who have been attracted by the great progress of the last century and the present century in the United States.

We have, therefore, some millions of Canadian ambassadors on the other side of the line, which, I think, has contributed greatly to the harmony which exists between our two countries. The situation is not unlike that of Scotland and England. I am reminded of the experience of a Scot who went to London to transact some business with important people. When he returned to his own community he was asked how



he liked the English—probably, how he liked the Sassenachs—and he replied that, to tell the truth, he had not seen many of them as his business had been done only with heads of departments.

May I say that the two countries of North America of which I am speaking are so interdependent, and their economies and their social life are so interwoven that, if this imaginary boundary were to be erected into a wall, it would create a revolution in our societies, perhaps more so in Canada than in the United States. If we have any complaint about our relationships it is that the deeper south you go the less aware the Americans are that there is a country to the north. But there is no doubt that in the adjoining States, where some 3 million people cross our boundary in the summer-time to visit us, the people are fully aware of Canada. Their government circles, too, are fully aware and considerate of their smaller northern neighbour.

I think I should say that, although we enjoy this very cordial relationship, we are nevertheless very distinct countries. We have in Canada our own system of government, which is common to all of us here in the Commonwealth—a parliamentary democracy. The American democracy is somewhat different, and I think that one of the causes of occasional misunderstanding between our two countries is the fact that our Governments appear to be the same, yet are very different. Congress plays quite a different role. The separation of the executive from the legislative, which does not exist in our system, sometimes leads to misunderstandings. We have our own ethos; we have our own relationships; and we mutually respect each other's independence, notwithstanding our very great interdependence.

May I say something about the United Nations? Canada is, of course, with all the rest of us here, a believer in collective security, but we look forward, as Mr. Hall has indicated we must, to an increase of international authority, to a rule of law which seems to be the only alternative in a world which has such powerful instruments of destruction with which to bring about the final collapse of our civilization. I believe that Canada will be prepared to make the necessary adjustments of sovereignty and will be prepared to do so as we progress towards that objective.

I need not say more about the United Nations, except to say that we have played our part in its activities. We have not only engaged in all the activities of the United Nations—we have taken part in the Assembly and given it one President, and are presently on the Security Council—but we have also sent our forces, under the banner of the United Nations, to Korea and have contributed substantially to the United Nations expeditionary emergency force and other activities requiring military forces. But we have not regarded the United Nations as a line of defence. Collective security, as it exists today, is not reliable, and we have joined in that very remarkable defensive alliance of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which has been so well described by Senator Frear and to which I need not refer further except to say that it is the keystone of our defence policy in Canada. We and the United Kingdom are the only two Commonwealth countries which are parties to that alliance. It is a special regional arrangement directly under the Charter of the United Nations, and so stated in the treaty itself.

Of course there we come to a very special defensive arrangement which we have with the United States. The United States and Canada are the two American countries which are party to the alliance. Our peculiar responsibility, I suppose, is the defence of North America, for which the very closest arrangements have been made even to the extent of a joint command in the air defence of North America. You are probably all familiar with N.O.R.A.D., a recent development in the co-operation between Canada and the United States in defence to produce a unified command to operate the defensive system which consists largely, in Canada, of the radar lines—the D.E.W. line, or distant early warning line, in the north, the Pine Tree Line, and a mid-line of radar installations to detect any attack from the north.

I should say, too, that our co-operative arrangements with the United States are not limited to defence. We have co-operated at all levels of government. We have joint committees of our Ministers which, I think, are probably unique in international relationships. Those committees sit not only for defence purposes but also for the



discussion of economic problems between the two countries. In addition, we have a parliamentary exchange which, I am glad to say, is operating in much the same way as the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association operates. Our first meeting was in Montreal in June last, when twenty-four Members of the United States Congress—twelve from the Senate and twelve from the House of Representatives—sat with us in a discussion somewhat like this, behind closed doors, to consider our common objectives, our achievements and our differences; to discuss them frankly and to inform each other, so that, as legislators in our own Chambers, we would know when we were treading on the toes of our neighbours. I think that that has been and will be a very constructive and useful contribution to good relations between the two countries.

I have said all that I need to say about N.A.T.O., and I come now to the final special relationship in which Canada is interested, that of this Commonwealth, represented here by its legislators in this Conference. We have spent five days on that subject, and I do not propose to weary you with any further statement of Canada's very special interest in this family of nations. I was impressed recently by a remark that Lord Attlee made which seemed to me to epitomize what the Commonwealth is in the world today, in its international aspects. He said of the Commonwealth, "It is the image of what the world wants to be". If that is so, and I believe it is, our responsibility and our duty in this battle for men's minds, to which Mr. Hall has referred and which is probably the great struggle of the day, is to make sure that nothing at all interferes with the harmony and the accord which exists in this Commonwealth, which would lessen its influence on men's minds, because it seems to me that in the Commonwealth we have an instrument to win the support of the uncommitted world to the things which bind us together and which we all believe are the essentially valuable and permanent things in life.

**Hon. Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, M.P. (Speaker of the Lok Sabha, India):** Sir, the Senators who have come from the United States of America, the Prime Minister of Australia, Lord Attlee, and others all have given us one viewpoint in relation to foreign policy. Unfortunately, it is different from the Indian point of view. But I am convinced, on analysing the points of view, that there is no material difference between the one and the other.

After the Second World War, all the countries of the world organized themselves into a United Nations, as the forum for presenting the views of various countries and for establishing permanent peace in the globe. India stands for this. At any cost, the United Nations must be strengthened. Unfortunately, there is a different view, which has been expressed this morning by Senator Frear, from the United States. This view is that the United Nations could not be trusted to deliver the goods, and that, therefore, different power blocs have come into existence. One after the other, pacts have had to be entered into, and, naturally, there have had to be armies. There have to be S.E.A.T.O., the Baghdad Pact, and others. Unfortunately, this has been followed by Russia entering into a military pact with China.

Do we go back to these various power blocs and bypass the United Nations, or do we strengthen the United Nations? If we bypass the United Nations and make it a cipher, although it is possible to have a Summit Conference, where President Eisenhower and the Russians can meet, where is the common front? I am not so pessimistic about the results of the Summit Conference, although I am not hopeful that everything will be achieved in a moment.

Soon after Mr. Khrushchev came to power, he said that the cult of personality must disappear and that there must be collective leadership. That means that there is no chance of his becoming the sole leader and dictator in Russia. In order to avoid others who may be equal with him snatching power, he said that there ought to be collective leadership. He said, further, that there must be decentralization of power, even down to districts. That smacks enormously of democracy.

When Mr. Khrushchev came to India, he was agreeably surprised that, in a free country like India, it was possible to carry on the various collective projects there and that industrialization there has been going on so rapidly without regimentation.



When Mr. Khrushchev was invited to visit England, there were some persons who doubted whether, in view of certain statements that he had made, he should be invited to England. I was in England in 1956 on my return from Jamaica, and I met Mr. Gaitskell and others. When Mr. Khrushchev visited India, we had not grown up economically and our standard of living had not risen much, but Mr. Khrushchev was very greatly surprised at, and impressed by, the fact that, in a free democratic State, it was possible to industrialize without regimenting the whole nation. I told him that, if he visited England and saw the standard of living of the masses of the people there, which was much superior to the standard of living under a dictatorship, as in the U.S.S.R., he would be sadly disillusioned by the need for dictatorship to continue in his own country. I believe that Mr. Khrushchev, after he went to England, was certainly disillusioned about his own methods. When he went to America later, he must have seen even more clearly that the means of dictatorship were not necessary in order to achieve socialism. Even in a democratic State, one can be socialist.

I think these things were responsible for Mr. Khrushchev agreeing to a Summit Conference, which is now to be held. But let us not be too pessimistic about it. I agree with Lord Attlee that we ought not to be too optimistic, either. If we succeed, very well, we succeed. If we fail, matters will be no worse than they are today. Let us, therefore, pursue the matter. I still feel that some good will come of it.

But for the forum of the United Nations, this Summit Conference could not have been arranged. There will be chaos the moment the United Nations becomes absolutely useless or is bypassed. Once again, we shall return to the several power blocs as before, and a war which may have been in the distant future, or may never have come, will come closer and closer. If it comes this time, the whole world will be engulfed in a cataclysm.

If we refuse to join any power bloc, it is not because we believe that we can stand alone. We believe in collective security—not in the collective security of four or five nations separated from the rest of the world, but in the collective security of all nations everywhere. All of us should come together and jointly make every possible attempt to see that we come closer to one another. If our hearts come together, there will be no need for defence.

The defence policy and the foreign policy of every nation is primarily intended for the purpose of getting a stable peace among our neighbours and among other countries throughout the world. The primary object of foreign policy is to secure peace in the world at large. Next, defence policy is for the purpose of maintaining that peace. We must live in friendship. Nobody believes that war will bring about permanent peace, as we have seen in the past. Whoever is thrown down will be waiting for an opportunity to come up again. As some of my Indian colleagues have said, it is something like trying to wash mud off one's legs and feet by using muddy water. War has never prevented another war. The vanquished only wait for an opportunity to destroy the people who vanquished them. Whatever else we may say, that has been our experience. Therefore, we in India, in our ancient land, with the background of an ancient culture, believe that peaceful means alone should be adopted. I speak what I believe to be the truth. Someone may say that, for a country situated in the world as we are, truth is useless and diplomatic methods would be preferable.

Today, in spite of our desire to live at peace with China, China is unfortunately an aggressor. This is a matter, in accordance with my principles, that calls for consideration being given to the question of peaceful coexistence for all. Should we have started a war with China? You know that, God willing, we will persist in trying to find out various methods of persuading China and the other countries to come to live at peace on earth. If we fail, there will be reasons for our failure. We have not got common friends, who can go to China and say that what she is doing is not right. The unfortunate thing is that China has been excluded from the United Nations. We have not strengthened the United Nations, it is true. If we assume that a Summit Conference will be absolutely successful, and if we agree that all armaments should be thrown into the sea, what next? Would that bind China? What would China do next after the countries of the rest of the world had thrown away their armaments? We cannot have a one-sided resolution that we shall throw away our armaments,



while others do not. Therefore, unless other countries come into the fold, there is no possibility of enforcing our decisions on them. We are not alone in the desire to bring in China. I would submit for consideration that it is equally, if not more important, for the statesmen of the countries in which all of us have faith to say that China should be admitted to the United Nations.

As to our policy in India, we have only said, "Strengthen the United Nations by letting China's representative sit with the representatives of other countries". If we did that, we could not be in a worse position than we are in today. In the present circumstances, it is idle to think that we can take any decision that will bind China. If today the United Nations is weak, it is because of the way in which this matter has been handled. There are three ways in which the United Nations can be made strong. First, we should bring almost all countries into its fold. Let us persuade them to come together and discuss with the common friends, that India can approach, how to persuade China not to embark upon an aggressive war. We shall not be in such a helpless position, if we meet the original country that adopted Marxism, if the person in charge of it—the dictator in Russia—were induced to step onto a common platform.

I wish to state my viewpoint on this matter. I am not disclosing any secrets. Two years ago, I went to China as the leader of a Parliamentary Delegation. At midnight Mr. Mao Tse-tung came to me. He told me that it would take us fifteen years to reach the level of the standard of living in England and France, but that it would take us fifty years to come to the level of the United States of America. It is not as though China were unaware of this or that China does not want to be admitted to the United Nations. That must come. After all, a part of China is already represented in the United Nations, but we want China proper, which has a population of 600 million people, to be represented in the United Nations. We must strengthen the United Nations by bringing in all those people who want to sit at the common table and discuss matters. That is my first point.

I emphasize that we are standing for peace. Our approach and your approach are the same. We think that, if the United Nations is strengthened, we will be on surer ground. If you still refuse to give China a place in the United Nations, please tell us why. It may be because Russia has exercised its veto, but it is coming round now. There is a silver lining to the cloud. We are coming together. It may be that some pacts and some blocs are breaking. I ask them to do so immediately. I am trying to place before this assembly the reasons why we have taken a particular line. We want China to continue as our neighbour, but the unfortunate position is that there are some people in China who are aggressors. China now is incensed. The Dalai Lama of Tibet became a refugee; our country gave him political asylum. We have not done anything wrong, but unfortunately Red China is taking a different view. Do you mean to say that, merely because we have not joined in A.N.Z.U.S. or S.E.A.T.O., all the other Powers will keep quiet and allow the whole of India to be destroyed and become Communist?

I also ask this question: have the other countries of the free world—the member nations of the United Nations, particularly Ceylon—any thought that India would go the way of China and adopt Communism? We have adopted democratic standards. I say, with a sense of pride, that we are one of the most democratic countries in the world, for the reason that we have had the advantage of examining the working of the constitutions of other countries and we drew upon their example and incorporated every one of the best features of their constitutions in our constitution. Secondly, since 1947, when India became free, we have gone through two big elections. Each time as many as 180 million people have voted. Seventy per cent. of those voters went to the polling stations and there was not a single unhappy incident. I think that our voting strength of 180 million is much more than the entire population of the United States of America and, indeed, it is equal to the population of Russia. Barring only China, our voting strength is equal to that of all the nations put together. It has been said that India could easily go Communist. If, perchance, we had already adopted Communism, possibly we would not now have any worry. But we are not going to abandon our principles. If the other free nations are sincere, the causes of war ought to be removed. The causes are these. There is imperialism still in some parts of the



world. Can we ask Russia to remove its hand from Rumania, Czechoslovakia, and even Poland? I am not really happy. I have recently been to those countries, and whatever anyone might say, there is not the same amount of freedom in those countries as you will find in the free nations of the world. It is possibly our duty, also, to see that they are helped to become absolutely free. They may become free.

But what about Algeria and the other colonial territories in Africa? We have tried to put under a trusteeship those colonies which belonged to Australia's enemies during the last war, Germany and the rest. The only other way is through the principle of coexistence; let us pursue it. Secondly, we are trying to strengthen the United Nations. Thirdly, we are anxious to see that the causes of war—political, economic and social—are removed. Any country which is under the subjugation of any other country must be allowed to become a democratic State as early as possible.

I entirely agree with the Prime Minister of Australia that, unless there is a democratic set-up in every country, there can be no guarantee of peace. Let the United Nations and every country of the world make up their minds on that. Let the good things of the world be equally distributed. We are essentially for peace. We stand along with every other democratic State to make peace in the world. Let there be no doubt about that!

**Hon. Dato' Ong Yoke Lin, M.P. (Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, *Federation of Malaya*):** Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates, we all know that the world, our world, is passing through a most momentous phase in its history. Man has found a terrifying secret, the secret of limitless power. Man is at the cross-roads now. This limitless power in the possession of man can either be unleashed for the total destruction of the human race or it can be harnessed, together with all the other technological knowledge that we have, for peaceful purposes, and we can then share in a glorious new era of peace and plenty for all the peoples of the world.

Recently we have seen a thaw in the cold war. I am sure that we all welcome that thaw in the cold war which has plagued the world for such a long time, with every moment fraught with the real danger that there will be a conflagration which will destroy all sides, combatants and non-combatants, alike.

So, on the eve of the Summit Conference, let us hope and pray that this meeting of the Heads of Governments will, in due course, lead to a new era of real peace and genuine peaceful coexistence. None of the big Powers can afford consciously to start a nuclear war. That is certain but, as was mentioned by several speakers, there is always the possibility of accidents. Therefore, it is a matter of urgency that such a possibility should be removed at once. Why should not all the great nations join together and wage a war on hunger, poverty, disease, and low standards of living throughout the world? Let there be genuine competition between the great Powers, between the different ideologies, in the economic field, not forgetting, of course, what is really equally, if not more, important, the degree of freedom and respect of the dignity of the individual. I can see a very welcome sign in Mr. Khrushchev's challenge to compete with the United States of America and the United Kingdom in producing more of the good things of life and in raising the standard of living of the people.

I think there is also a healthy sign in the fact that the Russian people, although unfortunately not living under a free and democratic system of government like ours, are at least having the better things of life. They will be having better education and are also beginning to know more of the world beyond the Iron Curtain. The dictators of Russia will have to take note, and pay heed to the aspirations of their people. I am sure that every individual behind the Iron Curtain desires to live in peace and to have the good things of life. So we can hope that a solid middle class will emerge in the countries behind the Iron Curtain.

Many speakers have mentioned interdependence. They have also mentioned the little wars and the local aggression that have been perpetuated over past years. I think it was Lord Attlee who said that it was a paradox that countries such as my own were getting their independence in a period of necessary interdependence.



We, the Federation of Malaya, have signed a defence treaty with the United Kingdom. It must be noted that this treaty was signed after the achievement of independence. We have in our country, under the treaty, United Kingdom and Commonwealth troops. We have troops from our very good friends, Australia, assisting to safeguard our independence and sovereignty. As a newly independent nation, with commitments in the economic and social field, we cannot afford to spend too much money on defence, on building up our army, navy and air force. We have only a token navy, army and a token air force. We have not even got a single bomber or a fighter. I think it is better for us to have friends to help us to maintain our independence and sovereignty than others occupying our territories by force. My people have suffered from the terrorism perpetrated by the Malayan Communist Party for more than eleven years past. More than 20,000 of our innocent civilians, including women and children, have been killed or brutally murdered.

After independence, we have had many surrenders from these Communist terrorists under our very generous surrender terms, but there are still about 800 or 1,000 fully armed terrorists left in the jungles on the border between Malaya and Thailand. The Malayan Communist Party, of course, is an illegal party. It is a part of world Communism and has been concentrating, after its failure in armed terrorism, on subversion—attempting to subvert the youth, the trade unions and even our political parties for its own purposes. In spite of this background of terrorism and subversion, between last June and last August we held free democratic elections to every seat in the legislatures of our eleven States and for the Federal Parliament of our country. These elections have been held under our new constitution—a fully democratic constitution drawn up by constitutional experts from Commonwealth countries, led by Lord Reid of the United Kingdom, and assisted by eminent constitutional lawyers from India, Pakistan and Australia. Just as in India, as stated by my hon. friend Shri Ayyangar, we also had peaceful and incident-free elections. This is proof of the faith of our people in the free, democratic system of government. We, on our part, sincerely want to see the end of this wasteful war conducted by the Communists in our country, and we hope they will give up this useless struggle.

As far as subversion is concerned, we have to maintain the utmost and constant vigilance. We are doing all that we can, as part of the fight against subversion, to raise the living standards of our people and to maintain peaceful, free and democratic conditions in our country.

We, a small nation, support the United Nations and all that it stands for. We have not hesitated to take up any issue on a basis of complete equality with other nations represented in the United Nations. We can only hope that our little country—our newly independent country—with peoples of many races and creeds, will be a little example to the world of tolerance, goodwill, freedom, democracy, respect for the moral and spiritual values and all that the United Nations Charter stands for.

**Mr. Harold E. Winch, M.P. (Canada):** Mr. Chairman, by a very strange coincidence, and a welcome one, I find myself in the position of having been one of the speakers at the opening of our Conference and now one of the speakers as our work draws to a close. It had been my intention to use the fullness of my time on this occasion in speaking on the subject matter which is now before us, namely, defence and international affairs, but the majority of the points upon which I desired to speak have already been made, so I will not bore this Conference with any repetition. However, there is one phase upon which I desire to say a few words because, to me, it is important.

On the 24th of last month the Delegates of some forty-nine Parliaments of the Commonwealth of Nations met in the City of Perth. Perhaps some of us, the products of our own environments and our own thinking, arrived in that city with preconceived ideas, with some personal prejudices and, undoubtedly, with some dogmatic ideas. However, since the 24th of last month, we have had the opportunity of meeting together, of talking together and of travelling together. Undoubtedly, the result has been that we have come to know each other better. We have come to know that, although they did not wear wings and were not perfect, the others did not have horns and tails and were not evil. We have come to know each other's countries, problems,



difficulties, opinions and aspirations. Because of that experience and understanding, we have been enabled to meet here in Conference in a straightforward manner, pulling no punches, and expressing our views on the problems, the difficulties and the aspirations of each other in a spirit of harmony and friendship.

So, as we approach the last hour of our deliberations, I feel, and I think that all others feel, that although there have been differences of opinion and viewpoint, there is, as a result of understanding, as a result of honest speaking, and as a result of constructive thinking and co-operation in general, a unanimity of thought and conclusion, although, of course, the details have not been, and cannot be, worked out at this time. There has been, in the deliberations since last Monday, a spirit of co-operation and understanding in a body which is, in itself, almost a league of nations. It is a league of nations that is made up of varying countries, with varying colours, religions and customs—countries which are old in culture and those which are new, in culture, which are old in democratic procedures and those which are new. But, meeting together as a miniature league of nations, we have shown conclusively that it is possible, even though we may have started with our personal prejudices and our preconceived ideas, to talk things out and reach unanimous conclusions.

It had been my intention to speak on the subjects that are before us along the lines that the best possible defence is co-operation in all its aspects between the freedom-loving nations of the world, and that the best possible international policy is understanding and negotiation on fundamental concepts of peace in all countries and prosperity for all. But I now feel, as a result of our deliberations and having met so many, that the best I can say on these subjects is that we have proven what can be done amongst ourselves, who have come from all countries and are of different colours and creeds, and I am so naïve and optimistic as to believe that the same principle can be applied elsewhere amongst all countries and all nations, on a similar basis and with similar results.

At this time and on this subject, too, I should like, as one of the Delegates from Canada, to express great appreciation for the opportunity that has been given of travelling Australia and of meeting so many representatives from other nations of the Commonwealth. I mentioned, when I started, that the way in which I personally was affected by the business arrangements on the agenda was somewhat of a coincidence. May I add a personal note. It might be termed by many a coincidence that on the Canadian Delegation I represent a party known as the C.C.F. Many Delegates have asked me the meaning of those letters. They stand for “Co-operative Commonwealth Federation”. That is a federation of those who desire to co-operate for the common weal. And although I am the only one at this Conference that can say he is a member of the political party called the C.C.F., I know now, if I never knew it before, that the spirit, intent, and motivation of all of us, irrespective of party, is to co-operate for the common weal.

May I in conclusion, through you, Mr. Chairman, say that in the past few weeks I have come to know Australia and I have come to know the other countries of the Commonwealth. May I say also that I now fully understand the pride of Australians in Australia and I appreciate the statement of my mother, expressed so many times, that she prayed and hoped the day would come when her eldest son—myself—would have the opportunity of visiting the land in which she was born.

Finally, there are occasions when it is difficult, even for a long-time politician, to find the right expression, but may I say, through you, to Australia and to all the Delegates here, that as a result of this miraculous opportunity given to me of travelling this country and meeting all my fellow Delegates I use again the words I had an opportunity of utilizing in Tasmania. I now, more fully than ever before, understand those beautiful words, “For food, for friends, for friendship, the Lord be praised”.

**Mr. Denis N. Abii, M.H.R. (Government Whip, Federation of Nigeria):** Mr. Chairman, I am very happy to contribute for a few minutes to this discussion. It is good to hear some of the great and experienced speakers recommend during the course of their speeches a peaceful attitude in international affairs and defence. We in the young and perhaps unborn nations are anxious to develop our countries in



peace. I hope the fear that rages in the world today may all be in vain. I also hope that the French may be graciously disposed not to test their atom bomb in the Sahara. Although Britain, the mother country of this Commonwealth, is trying to show us that the French test is not harmful, by establishing some scientific stations all over the area now, we, the people concerned, have suffered very much from the fear of this rumoured bomb test. But there you are, Sir. Britain should know that France has never been her sincere friend. But due to international agreements into which Britain might have entered with France, France continues to be desirous of carrying out her intended test in the Sahara. That is the danger of alignment. That proves conclusively why some nations are reluctant to enter into alignment with one bloc or the other. It is better for a governing nation to be purely independent in order to be worthy of responsibility for its actions. We in Africa will one day examine the action of the French, if they are so audacious as to carry out the test in spite of all our solicitations. Time will prove that we are right.

I will end my short speech with this: may the Commonwealth countries join us in asking the French to allow us to live in peace. Greatness and power travel; where they are today may not be their home tomorrow.

**Senator J. Allen Frear:** Mr. Chairman, in reply, I think Mr. Winch of Canada made a very fine and fair summation, much better than a Senator from the United States could do in two minutes. One of the favourite expressions in football in our country is that the best defence is a good offence. That may not be the motive of this Conference. As a matter of fact, I think it is far from it, because the word "peace" has been used with sincerity in all of the talks that I have heard.

The United States is a young country—perhaps not as young as the countries of some of our friends here today, but still young—and I believe our record of non-aggression is pretty well known by all of you. You will recall the Spanish-American war of 1898, in which some property was gained by the United States, but consider what has happened to that property. The Philippines are an independent country, Cuba is an independent country, Hawaii is our fiftieth State, and Puerto Rico is an autonomous commonwealth. Speaking of our fiftieth State, you notice that within the past twelve months we have added two stars to the forty-eight formerly in our flag. I believe that we could extend a very cordial invitation to our Canadian friends to the north so that we might, with their concurrence, add ten more stars to it. As Mr. Michener said, our boundary with Canada is 3,000 miles long, without—to my knowledge at least—having a defensive post along it. So, we are quite friendly with our neighbour to the north, especially since their dollar is now worth a little more than the United States dollar. I do not believe that our friendship is any more cordial because of the value of the dollar, but certainly this has not deteriorated our friendship in the least.

Mr. Chairman, it has been a great pleasure for the Delegation from the United States to accept the invitation to attend this wonderful Conference. We hope that the peaceful and democratic sentiments that have been expressed here will be fulfilled in action in the days to come.



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### Resignation of Sir Howard d'Egville

**The Chairman of the Council (Senator the Hon. Sir Alister McMullin, K.C.M.G., President of the Senate, *Australian Commonwealth*):** Gentlemen, I want to tell you of the forthcoming resignation of Sir Howard d'Egville as Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

I know that I am speaking for you all when I say that we are mindful of the great contribution that Sir Howard has made to the goodwill between all the countries of the Commonwealth over the years that he has been associated with this organization. As new countries have come within the Commonwealth, he has played a major part in welding them to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association and helping them to fill a useful role in the great work that the Association is doing. I am sure that when history is written the value of Sir Howard's work will be recognized. He has left many landmarks along the road.

I say sincerely to Sir Howard that he will be remembered with respect by all who have been associated through the years with the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. We hope that the years ahead will be fruitful and successful and that he will be able to complete much of the work that he has started and so leave behind a worthwhile record of the organization that he played such an important part in founding.

**Sir Roland Robinson, M.P. (*United Kingdom*):** The retirement of any man from a lifetime job is always an emotional occasion; when it is the retirement of Sir Howard d'Egville of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, I feel it is even more so. Sir Howard has been with the Association from the beginning. He has nurtured us and seen us grow, and I think that we can truthfully say that he can regard the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association as his child. Those of us who have worked with him for so many years have seen how he really has given his life to this job, and even with advancing years, when he has not been well, he has made great sacrifices in serving us and carrying on his work.

When we take leave of him now, we say with truth that we hope to see you often, old friend, and we will remember you with the affection and respect that is always given by the son to the father. God bless you, and may you have a very happy retirement.

**Hon. Ashford S. Sinanan, M.P. (Leader of the Opposition, *Federation of the West Indies*):** It is my conviction, Mr. Chairman, that if it were not for Sir Howard d'Egville the separate colonies of this great Commonwealth might have gone their respective ways. Although we had the concept of the Commonwealth developing, one body that kept us in this loose association, yet rigidly held to the centre, was the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association to which Sir Howard dedicated the major part of his very useful life. I am sure that I speak for the entire West Indies when I say that we will miss him particularly because, whenever we visited London, he spared the time to tender advice to us and to inspire us so that in the West Indies there was this strong growth of the parliamentary way of life.

I sincerely hope that he will have many more years in which to see this offspring that he has so kindly fathered develop and become the most powerful unit for peace that the world has ever seen.

**Rt. Hon. Harold Holt, M.P. (Treasurer, *Commonwealth of Australia*):** Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates, while I am glad to have the opportunity of joining in these well-merited tributes to Sir Howard d'Egville, I know I share the regret of everyone at the circumstances which have made his decision necessary. Those of us who have known him well have in recent years watched with concern some failing in his health. I think that he has taken a wise decision to announce his retirement, although I am quite certain that the Association will still be able to look forward for some time to come to his counsel and the benefits of his experience.



But the decision has been taken, and it is proper that we should place on record, at what I understand will be the last Conference that he will attend in his present capacity, something of our recognition of the contribution that he has made to the work and life of the Association. The adult life of the man has run along with the life of the Association. When the history of the Association is written, and I understand that he is to play a part and perhaps a major part in the writing of it, it will be found to have been very considerably a biography of Sir Howard d'Egville himself. Indeed, he needs no oral testimony nor written record of the contribution that he has made to the development of the Association, which, as we see it around us now, is the testimony to his work. It has grown during the period of his office from six Branches, made up of people of British blood and British stock, to seventy Branches representing just on a quarter of the world's population and including some 500 million diverse people, not only of British blood and stock but representing virtually all sections of the world's communities at this time. That is a remarkable achievement in the lifetime of any man. As you rightly said, Mr. Chairman, history will record this contribution to the ideals which mankind has treasured through the centuries. As has been so rightly stated in the course of this Conference, much of the hope of the world for the attainment of the objectives of peaceful coexistence, racial equality, prosperous development and the brotherhood of man depend upon the success we make of this experiment in which we are all engaged. Along the course of the years there has been occasion after occasion when all that has been achieved could have been split asunder had there not been the wise and intelligent guidance of the affairs of the Association by the man who was necessarily at the core of all its activities. We have not had a regular executive, able to meet frequently. Geography, time and circumstance have defeated that otherwise very desirable objective and have prevented us from providing the kind of machinery necessary. In these circumstances there was need for a man who could hold the threads together and see that the Association should progress in the orderly way that it has done.

One could speak for a very great length of time. One has very strong feeling. I in particular was close to Sir Howard during the years when I had the privilege of being Chairman of this Association. I know that all would wish to make their personal contributions, impracticable though that may be. I take it upon myself, therefore, not merely for my colleagues of the Australian Delegation, but also, I know, for so many Delegates here and for persons outside this Association who have been linked with it during the years, to express the warmest tribute I can summon to the man who has meant so much to the attainment of a great world and Commonwealth ideal.

**Hon. Roland Michener, Q.C., M.P. (Speaker of the House of Commons, Canada):** I realize it is impracticable for all of us to express our feelings, but I would like to say "amen" to what has been so ably said already at this momentous turning point in the history of the Association. We have had a great deal of help from Sir Howard d'Egville in Canada, particularly in recent years, which is appreciated by all members of this Delegation. He has helped us to establish our Canadian Area Council meetings and to revivify the Branches.

We have come to the end of a great regime, and we are consoled only by the knowledge that although Sir Howard is laying down the great burden of his office, his wise counsel will be available to us in the future as a friend and adviser of the Association. I wish to associate the Canadian Delegation with the expressions of appreciation that have already been uttered.

**Hon. Dato' Ong Yoke Lin, M.P. (Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, Malaya):** I am sure that we have all received the news of Sir Howard's resignation with the greatest regret. I would like to add my own very warm tribute to Sir Howard d'Egville for all the great work that he has done for the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, and particularly for people like myself, representatives of new nations, young nations and new members of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. We have all been struck by his keenness, his courtesy and his helpfulness to the new members of the Association. Nothing has been too much trouble to him in assisting the new members.



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I would add to the expressions of appreciation of my colleagues the wish that Sir Howard will enjoy many years of happiness in retirement, and the hope that his advice and counsel will always be available to the Association.

**Hon. Philip O. S. Skoglund, M.P. (Minister of Education, New Zealand):** I would like to associate New Zealand with the remarks that have been passed by previous speakers. We who live in a country that is sometimes known as the "Shaky Isles" realize the benefit of a firm foundation. The foundation that has been laid by Sir Howard over the years has stood the test of time, and I believe that whatever edifice is built in the future it will be worthy of the foundations that he has so successfully laid. I would add that we hope that Sir Howard will in the years to come enjoy better health and will live long to enjoy his retirement.

**Senator the Hon. Philip S. Hayward (Chief Government Whip, Union of South Africa):** I also wish to associate myself with the remarks that have been passed and to express South Africa's appreciation of what Sir Howard has meant to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. I well remember the first time I went to England after becoming a member of the Association, and how Sir Howard took me around and showed me all the friendliness that it was possible to have shown. I then saw the very deep interest he was taking in the affairs of the Association.

I cannot do other than associate the Union of South Africa with the expressions of appreciation that have been uttered of the work of Sir Howard, and I hope that in the years to come, even if he cannot take such an active part in the affairs of the Association, he may still make available to us the benefits of his wonderful capabilities.

**Hon. Shri M. A. Ayyangar, M.P. (Speaker of the Lok Sabha, India):** On behalf of my brother Delegates and on my own behalf, I would like to associate myself with all the remarks that have been made about Sir Howard d'Egville, and to express our deep sense of appreciation of the tremendous work that he has done to stabilize the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

I have come to know him since 1952, when I went as a Delegate to the Association's Conference in Canada. He is a very silent worker—no one knows how silent—and he has done splendid work in bringing the various Branches together and in bringing into existence new Branches, particularly in my country. Except for the Central Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association in India, the main Branch, all the other Branches that have been formed in the Legislatures have come into existence through the efforts of Sir Howard. During the last Conference that we had in Delhi in 1957 he was mainly responsible for bringing the various countries together. He helped enormously in organizing that Conference, and I want to pay a humble tribute to him for the excellent work that he has done, and the interest he has taken in the affairs of the Association and all its Branches.

Although he might possibly be able to continue in office for a couple of years, this might be injurious to his health and, although he is retiring, I am sure that his services will be at the disposal of the Association, as an elder statesman or organizer, and that he will always give as much help as he possibly can to those who, from time to time, may call upon him for advice. I hope that he lives many years to enjoy his retirement.

**Hon. Sir John W. Cox, C.B.E., M.H.A. (Speaker of the House of Assembly, Bermuda):** On behalf of the Affiliated Branches and also for myself and my own Branch, I join in the general expression of our gratitude to Sir Howard d'Egville for his great work for this Association. When I was elected Speaker of our Assembly eleven years ago I felt very acutely for some months afterwards the passage from the active life of a Parliamentarian to the more placid life of the Speaker. I think, Mr. Chairman, that Sir Howard is today going through the first phase of a similar evolution. He will, I am sure, regret the necessity to lay down the active work of directing this Association, but I am happy to know that he has indicated his willingness to undertake an important task on behalf of the Association, which no one but he can adequately do—that is, to write a history of this organization.



An organization of this sort relies upon its tradition, and Sir Howard has spent some forty years of his active life in helping to create that tradition. It is high time that we had that tradition in written form for the benefit of posterity. I welcome the thought that Sir Howard will now be undertaking this important task. Not only will it enable him to feel that he has, and will continue always to have, an active part in this Association, but that, as he proceeds with his work, he will be doing something for the benefit of us all, as he has done in his forty years of service as Secretary, and subsequently as Secretary-General, of our Association.

We shall miss Sir Howard in his position as Secretary-General, but I know that we shall all be able in the years to come to get in touch with him and to keep that close personal association which has meant so much to every member of the various Branches throughout the Commonwealth. We are most grateful to Sir Howard for what he has done for us in the past, and we look forward to a continuance of our association in the future.

**Hon. Stanley de Zoysa, M.P. (Minister of Finance, Ceylon):** I did think there might be one or two speeches on behalf of all of us, but so close has Sir Howard been to the Delegates at this Conference that the formality of the occasion has disappeared, and spontaneously Member after Member leading his Delegation has risen to say a few words on behalf of his own country.

Ceylon joins warmly in the tributes paid to Sir Howard, and wishes him a long and restful retirement. I do not wish to add to all that has been said with regard to the work Sir Howard has done for this Association. I wish merely to say this: that, if in the years to come a future generation of Parliamentarians of the Commonwealth find a powerful, virile Commonwealth Parliamentary Association handed down to them by us who meet here today, then indeed Sir Howard will not have toiled in vain.

**Mr. A. Mate Johnson, M.P. (Ghana):** On behalf of the Ghana Delegation and the Delegates from West Africa generally I wish to associate myself with the sentiments expressed by previous speakers and to add "God bless Sir Howard" and wish him a long and happy life in retirement.

**Sir Howard d'Egville, K.B.E.:** Mr. Chairman of the General Council, Mr. Vice-Chairman, Mr. Holt and leaders of Delegations from all parts of the Commonwealth, I thank, very warmly indeed, the speakers who have paid their kind tribute to the work that I have endeavoured to do over the years. This is, as you may understand, after forty years and more devoted to the building up of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, a day of great importance and of considerable emotion to me. I was hoping, when I came out here, that it might have been possible for me to have retained the Secretary-Generalship for possibly another eighteen months or two years; but it was borne in upon me as the work went on that I was not in a sufficiently good state of health to continue the work involved in another Council Meeting and another Conference. I was ill, unfortunately, before I came away, and there was some doubt as to whether I could come at all. But I felt that I should make every effort, as I was most anxious to be present on this important occasion and to do what I could to further the interests of the Association at this gathering in Canberra. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, as you know, yesterday I handed in my letter to the Council indicating my desire to retire on 1st July next, with very considerable regret.

So, from 1st July next, I shall cease to be the Secretary-General. I will not now refer to the history of the Association, beyond saying that when the General Council was formed in 1949 and the Constitution was adopted as a result of a Resolution of the Canadian Branch, we endeavoured to establish in that Constitution the practice of having a Council Meeting every year and a General Meeting and Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference every two years. It is some satisfaction to know that from 1949 to 1959 we have been able to accomplish that objective. Now the Conferences have been such a success, particularly the recent Conferences we have had, culminating in this most successful gathering, that the desire has not only been expressed by the



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Council, but by the members at the General Meeting that the Conferences should be annual instead of biennial.

During my time with the General Council I have endeavoured to the best of my ability to work satisfactorily the constitution which was drawn up in 1949. But it is not any easy task in such a widely scattered community as the Commonwealth, and it involves, of course, a considerable amount of correspondence with various Branches in order to maintain their interest and give them sufficient information to enable them to carry on their active work.

What I do feel satisfaction about, if I may say so, is the fact that in the immediate future you will have a very active Chairman who has thrown himself entirely into the work of the Association, and has shown a great interest in and anxiety for its progress. You will have also an extremely active Vice-Chairman in the person of my old friend of twenty years standing, Sir Roland Robinson. Throughout nearly the whole of the work that I have accomplished for the General Council since 1949, I have had the very active help of my friend and colleague, Mr. S. A. Pakeman, who has been not only a friend of mine and of the Association, but also a friend of all those with whom he has come into contact in our work. I am very glad indeed to feel that he will be carrying on as Deputy Secretary-General and as Editor-in-Chief of the publications, with which he has so ably helped me over the years. I am also, of course, very glad indeed to know that my successor in the Secretary-Generalship will be a friend and colleague who has worked with me most ably in the past in the United Kingdom Branch.

The one great thing that I have tried to do during the time I have been with the General Council has been to pursue the policy which has been laid down by most of the leading statesmen of the Commonwealth, that is, equality of status amongst the nations of the Commonwealth. Through that recognition of the equality of status I think we shall get the full and active support of all the Delegations which are present here today.

In my closing words, I would ask the Members of all Delegations to give their utmost help and co-operation to the new set-up in the General Council. I am sure that the Council will be grateful for the interest which you will show and the active work that you will do for the Association on returning to your respective countries. I feel confident that your Branches will also take an active part in the management of the Association and will be properly represented on the Council in the days to come.

I think it is quite true to say that we in this Association form a Parliamentary League of Nations. If the Members take their full share in the future management of the Association, they will play a great and vital part in the evolution of the new Commonwealth.

I thank you most warmly for the kind words that have been expressed, which I shall always remember with emotion and pleasure.

### Speeches of Thanks and Presentations

**Rt. Hon. Lord Mills (Paymaster-General, *United Kingdom*):** Mr. Chairman and fellow Delegates, on behalf of the United Kingdom Delegation, may I express our appreciation of the worth of this Conference of representatives from the Parliaments of the Commonwealth, and to say how glad we are on this occasion to have the co-operation of representatives of the Senate of the United States of America. I would also like to express our appreciation of the interest of the Prime Minister of Australia in our deliberations. I should particularly like to thank you, Sir, for your very able and courteous conduct in the chair, which has helped and cheered us all.

This Conference has given us the opportunity of visiting this great Commonwealth of Australia, and I am sure that those of us who have been here before, and those of us who have visited it for the first time, have a great admiration for the country and a great affection for its people. We would like to thank the various State Branches which we have visited for their hospitality, and their Secretariats for the way in which they have assisted us. Unfortunately, Sir, some of us were kept at home because the



electorate were deciding whether or not they were satisfied with the Government they had.

We would like to thank the Commonwealth Branch for their very great hospitality and kindness to us here in Canberra, and Mr. Alan Turner and his staff for all the help they have given us. I would just like to add, Sir, our thanks to the Secretary-General and his staff for the arrangements which have made our work so easy and so pleasant. I am sure, Sir, we shall all remember this visit to Australia, and I think we shall go back to our respective homes believing that we have done some good.

**Sardar Hukam Singh, M.P. (Deputy Speaker of the Lok Sabha, India):** Mr. Chairman, I associate myself wholeheartedly with what has just been said by Lord Mills. Most members of the United Kingdom Delegation arrived a little late, for the reasons we have already been given, but I was one of those lucky ones who arrived early. I may say that we were apprehensive whether we would be able to survive all the hospitality and generosity offered to us in Australia, but here we are, much refreshed and even revitalized by it, when we are about to leave for our homes.

We have seen this country for the first time. It is a really beautiful country. We have been taken to its beautiful cities; we have seen large farms; we have seen harbours and beaches. I think that our visit to Surfers' Paradise will never be forgotten by us. We have seen blast furnaces and steel mills; we visited the Snowy Mountains Scheme; we saw beautiful Tasmania. All those things will remain fresh in our minds when we go back home. But most of all, wherever we have gone, we have been given a warm reception and great courtesy, the memory of which will remain a long time with us. Everywhere, we have met smiling faces. It was really a pleasure to talk to the men, women and children that we have met.

During the earlier part of the tour I sometimes felt a little fatigued, no doubt because of my age, and it occurred to me that perhaps it would have been better had the Conference been held earlier, but I became converted to the belief that the right course was to allow us to be together for such a long period. We have travelled together for long distances in trains. We have sat together in buses and in motor cars. We have met each other, we have discussed each other's problems, and we have tried to understand each other. Certain prejudices that we had have been removed. We have learned a lot during the two months that we have been here, and we are much wiser than we were when we came.

We thank our Australian friends, both those from places where we have gone and those from places where we have not been, for all the courtesies they have shown us. We particularly thank the various Branches of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association for the fine arrangements that they made. Even the smallest details were looked after. Everything that we wanted, and even much more, had been anticipated. I take this opportunity to thank the Secretaries of the Branches, also, for all that they have done.

Most of all, I thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the nice way in which all these proceedings have been conducted. We assure you that we will always have very happy and sweet memories of this Conference.

**Hon. Dato' Ong Yoke Lin, M.P. (Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, Federation of Malaya):** Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the other Members of the Malayan Delegation and myself, I should like to support most heartily all the tributes paid to the Government and the people of Australia for their very warm hospitality and for the kindnesses that have been shown to all of us. Malaya and Australia have very close ties and associations, and our peoples have the most friendly regard for each other.

One thing that has struck me, as a Delegate attending for the first time a Conference of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, is that it is not only the speeches and discussions in the Conference hall that are valuable. In meeting Parliamentarians from all parts of the Commonwealth, and our friends from the United States of America, over cups of tea and other stronger beverages outside the Conference hall,



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we have made friendships that last, and we have come to know more of each other's problems by learning from the experiences of others. We know that, in all the four quarters of the earth, there are people of all races and creeds in the Commonwealth who believe sincerely in our free, parliamentary system of government.

It is a great privilege to meet in this Chamber of the Australian House of Representatives, and, once again, I thank the Commonwealth and the State Governments, the various Australian Branches of the Association and, in particular, the people of Australia for all the kindness and hospitality that we have received.

**The Chairman of the Council:** Gentlemen, thank you very much for your kind references to the success of the tour and the Conference in Australia. All I can say to you is that Australia will be much the richer for your having come among us, for your generous approach to the discussions, and for your earnest desire that the discussions should bear fruit and that you should take back worthwhile results to your own countries.

But, Gentlemen, a Conference of this kind could not have been held had it not been for the interest, first of all, of our Prime Minister, to whom the British Commonwealth means so much. With his very keen appreciation and great knowledge of the workings of that Commonwealth, he was very anxious, when the suggestion was put to him, that this Conference should be held in Australia. I pay full tribute to the Prime Minister for his interest in and enthusiasm for the holding of this Conference in Canberra.

Then, of course, there was Mr. Harold Holt, who, also, has not been without enthusiasm. It was his responsibility to provide the money for this Conference, and he has done that very well.

The co-operation between the States and the Commonwealth in arranging this Conference has been one of the delights of the whole thing. The representatives of the States and the Commonwealth met, discussed our problems, and agreed on a line of action. There has been complete understanding and goodwill between the States and the Commonwealth, and it is only because of that that the tour throughout Australia was as successful as it has been. I am very proud of the earnest goodwill and co-operation that we received from the State Branches and of their readiness at all times to meet us when problems arose.

I want to express, also, very deep appreciation of the assistance that Mr. Speaker has given to me personally in the arrangements for this Conference. He, of course, has made it possible for me to sit in this most uncomfortable chair of his—though perhaps I should not reflect on it, Mr. Speaker. We have disrupted his staff and his work. We have taken Mr. Alan Turner away from his work, and I am sure that, at times, Mr. Speaker has had to exercise extraordinary patience with us. Throughout, Mr. Speaker has earnestly worked in with us to make this Conference go well.

Then I come to the Hon. Secretary of the Australian Commonwealth Branch. Mr. Turner has been a most patient man. He has put up with me for months. As well as being a most patient man, he is a most efficient man. When you see a highly trained man at work and witness the efficient way in which he goes about his work, and the results that he achieves without any apparent concern or hurrying about, you realize the true worth of a man like Mr. Turner, who has done so much for us. So I pay tribute to Mr. Turner and his staff. When I refer to his staff, I include all who have been associated with this Conference, and I do not forget those that are not here today—the staff in the dining-room, the messengers, the car-drivers and the other people who have assisted. Had it not been for their desire to help and to play their part, everything might not have gone as well as it has done.

I thank all the Delegates for having come among us. We have been delighted to have you. At this Conference we have made friendships that will last for very many years. I hope that our meeting together will not have been without very worthwhile results in the building up of that goodwill and understanding that we all need so urgently today.



I now ask my friend, Mr. Richter, who represents the State Branches, to support what I have said.

**Mr. Harold Richter, M.L.A. (Queensland):** Mr. Chairman, it has been my privilege, as the representative of the State Branches of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, to accompany you throughout the tour of Australia. I want to say that it has been a great pleasure indeed to me.

My mind goes back to the early stages of the tour, when we met at Perth. I may tell you that, with people of different races, different creeds and different political beliefs being thrown together, we were quite worried about what might happen. But we just hoped for the best. Let me say now that we were delighted with the tour, and we are very pleased that it was such a success. As representatives of the host country, naturally, we were a little concerned about the possibilities. Having listened to the discussions at this Conference and to the expressions of goodwill that we have just heard, I want to say that everything that has been said has been sweet music to my ears.

I believe that our getting together on the tour was a wonderful thing. It has given us an opportunity to appreciate one another's point of view. It has given us an opportunity to realize that our point of view is not the only point of view. Consequently, our debates here have been free and open. Some of them have been very critical, but I can confidently say that no offence has been taken and that the feeling has been exceptionally good.

I have come to the conviction that, fundamentally, man thinks the same way, and has the same basic principles of friendliness, kindness and goodwill, regardless of his race, creed or political ideas. As a matter of fact, I would think that many Members of our own Parliament—Opposition and Government Members—have come closer together on this tour than ever before in their own country. I believe that we have learned to understand that, even though the other person disagrees with us, at least he is sincere in that belief. Consequently, I believe that this Association has a great future. Someone said the other day, referring to this Association, that it was a great experiment. I would like to put it this way: I believe that it is a blueprint for the future salvation, not only of this Association of the Commonwealth, but of the nations of the whole world. I believe that the spirit of getting together which has been demonstrated during this tour should be followed a little further right throughout the world. I think that we are going to have a very much more contented people everywhere.

I appreciate the very kind things that have been said about our hospitality. It has been a great privilege to have you here. I have one regret, and that is associated with the many firm friendships which have been made. I have become very close friends with some of you, but I realize that I shall possibly never see you again. It is rather sad to realize that we are going to various corners of the world, but someone else will come along to take our place and carry on with the great work that has been done. I thank you most sincerely, on behalf of the States, for your kind remarks concerning us. I am pleased that this tour has been a success. I am pleased that you have enjoyed it.

**The Vice-Chairman of the Council:** With your permission, Mr. Chairman, I have one further pleasurable duty to perform. Tributes have been paid to Australia, to you and to your staff, but it was the unanimous wish of all the Delegates that those of your staff who worked so hard should take away the memory not merely of words but of something more concrete, so that they may in the years to come recall our real appreciation of their work. I would, with your permission, seek to make a small presentation to Mr. Alan Turner, the Clerk of your House of Representatives. I am afraid that during the past two or three months we must have completely disrupted his life. He was worked like a Trojan and we wish to say, "Thank you". May we have Mr. Alan Turner on the floor of the House to receive this token of goodwill from all.

*(Mr. Alan Turner came forward and the presentation was made.)*

We also wish, Mr. Chairman, to make a presentation to his three assistants, Mr. Parkes, Mr. Pettifer and Mr. Blake.



## ADJOURNMENT OF THE CONFERENCE

*(Mr. Parkes, Mr. Pettifer and Mr. Blake came forward and the presentations were made.)*

Now may we have Mr. Browning, the Sergeant at Arms.

*(Mr. Browning came forward and the presentation was made.)*

There is one last presentation—to Mr. Wallace, the man who is making it possible for all of us to go home. So great has been the hospitality, so heavy must be the expense to the Government of Australia, that I think perhaps it should be the Government which makes a present to him for getting rid of us.

*(Mr. Wallace came forward and the presentation was made.)*

Mr. Wallace, many of us may have been an awful nuisance to you as a result of changing our reservations from time to time, but you have always been helpful and your efforts have been appreciated by all. Will you please accept this gift, with our appreciation.

**The Chairman:** I call upon Mr. Turner to respond.

**Mr. Alan G. Turner (Clerk of the House of Representatives Australian Commonwealth and Secretary of the Australian Branch):** Mr. Chairman, Sir Roland, Delegates and honorary Secretaries of the Branches. This is perhaps an unprecedented occasion, because, as you know, clerks are seen but not heard. To give me an opportunity to speak on the floor of the House is something which I particularly appreciate. May I thank you very much indeed, not only on my own behalf but on behalf of my colleagues and Mr. Wallace.

A Conference of this kind is not possible unless, I think, the Secretary of the Branch gets the complete and free co-operation of everyone. May I record my own personal thanks to my colleagues in the other parliamentary departments and to Mr. Wallace of Qantas, without whose untiring work it would not have been possible to make the necessary arrangements. More particularly, I would like to express my own very personal thanks to my colleagues in my own department for the amount of time that they have given freely and voluntarily for many weeks. They have given of their week-ends and of their free evenings.

To all of you, may I say how sad we feel that you are leaving us. In Canberra, particularly, the demands on your time have been very heavy and we perhaps have not had the opportunity that we would have liked to get closer to some of you personally. We are sad that you are leaving. We wish you well and we hope you have a happy voyage back home.

**The Chairman:** That concludes our Conference.

*The Conference adjourned sine die.*













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ಪರಿಗ್ರಹಣ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆ: 034058

ವರ್ಗೀಕರಣ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆ: 060.9171241 CPA

ಪುಸ್ತಕವನ್ನು ಕೊನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ನಮೂದಿಸಲಾಗಿರುವ ದಿನದಂದು ಅಥವಾ ಅದಕ್ಕೆ ಮುನ್ನ  
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AKSHARA GRANTHALAYA



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